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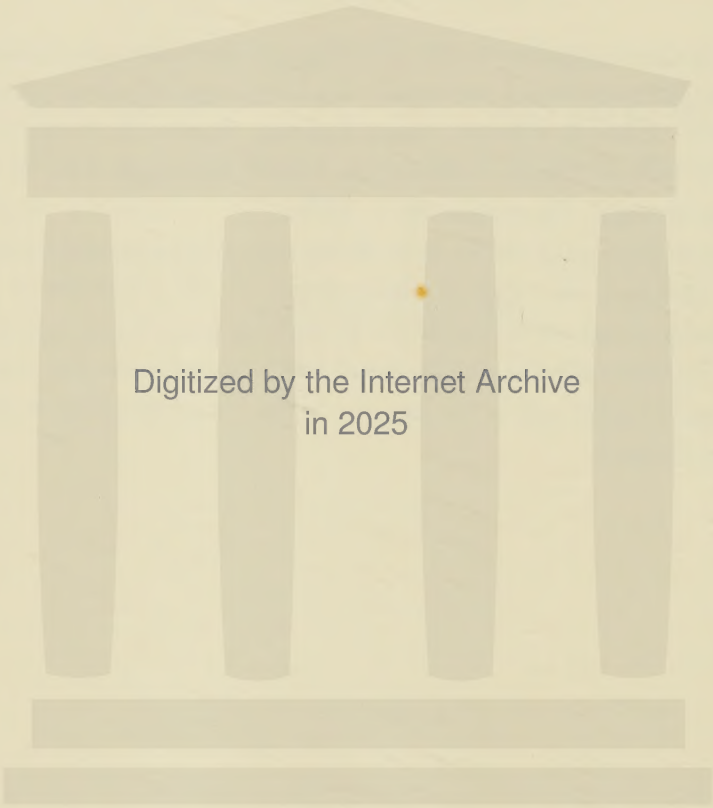
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Recent Trends in the Economic Historiography of the Renaissance[1]

FIRST of all, may I express my pleasure at having been invited to participate in this twentieth anniversary of the New England Renaissance Conference. I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Professor Bradner and his colleagues on the part they played in originating the idea of a regional conference on the Renaissance—an idea that has since spread from coast to coast and has in no small degree been responsible for the growing interest in Renaissance studies in this country during the past two decades. Few of us who took part in the first conference here could have realized that we were assisting at the birth of a movement with such a brilliant future. Had we done so we might have echoed the words erroneously attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh when he saw the smoke rise from his first pipe of tobacco: 'We have this day lighted such a fire as by God's grace will never be put out.'

At that first conference, I read a paper rather ambitiously entitled 'The Historian's View of the Renaissance'. It still reposes peacefully in my desk drawer. Its chief value was that it gave me an opportunity to crystallize in a brief statement my current thoughts about the Renaissance, and I was grateful for the occasion which forced me to do so. Now, twenty years older, if not appreciably wiser, I am once more grateful for an occasion which forces me to think back over the scholarly writing on one important aspect of Renaissance history and to try to assess its significance for the interpretation of the Renaissance as a whole. In scarcely any other field of study dealing with the Renaissance—the history of music and of philosophy are the principal exceptions—has there been so much new material brought to light or so much significant reinterpretation as in economic history. That this should be so

[1] Read at the New England Renaissance Conference at Brown University 17 October 1959.

ought not to seem surprising, for economic history is one of the newer disciplines. So far as it touches the period of the Renaissance, its beginnings can be dated back scarcely more than half a century. By the 1930s the pioneer work was fairly well completed. The initial hypotheses had been worked out, fought over, and in part abandoned. The main outlines of the picture had been sketched in, with a fair amount of detail, but much work still remained to be done. What has been achieved in the past two or three decades is largely the result of the application of new methods, new interests, or new frames of reference. It is the purpose of this paper to trace some of these changing trends, and to venture an assessment of their value.

An initial difficulty confronts us in dealing with the contribution of economic historians to the study of the Renaissance. With few exceptions, they have entirely ignored it as an epoch in the history of European civilization. For them it can scarcely be said to exist. The *Economic History Review* and other journals customarily observe the time-honored dividing line at about 1500 between 'late medieval' and 'early modern', listing works dealing with the economic history of the Renaissance under one heading or the other. Even when the economic historians acknowledge the term 'Renaissance' in a periodic sense, they merely add to the confusion by the wide variety in the chronological range they assign to it.[2]

We can hardly blame them for this chronological confusion, however, since they were merely following in the footsteps of the historians of art, literature, philosophy, and learning, who were chiefly responsible

[2] A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the variety. One of the earliest economic histories to use the term 'Renaissance', R. Ehrenberg, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance* (London, 1928), dealt with the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. G. Luzzatto in 'Piccoli e grandi mercanti nella città del Rinascimento', *Studi in onore di G. Prato* (Turin, 1931), was thinking of the period from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth. A review article by F. L. Nussbaum, 'The Economic History of Renaissance Europe', *Journal of Modern History* XIII (1941), 527–545, covered the literature on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More recently A. Sapori in *Il Rinascimento: significato e limiti: Atti del III Convegno Internationale sul Rinascimento, 1952* (Florence, 1953); 'I primi viaggi di Levante e di Ponente delle galere Fiorentine', *Archivio Storico Italiano* CXIV (1956), 87 ff.; 'Medioevo e Rinascimento: spunti per una diversa periodizzazione', *Archivio Storico Italiano* CXV (1957), 135–164, and other articles has argued that the economic Renaissance began as early as the beginning of the twelfth century and that it had passed its peak by the time the Burckhardtian Renaissance began. M. Mollat, in 'Y a-t-il une économie de la Renaissance?' *Actes du Colloque sur la Renaissance, 1956* (Paris, 1958), argues for an economic Renaissance from the middle of the fifteenth century to the early years of the seventeenth.

for developing the periodic concept of the Renaissance and from whom the economic historians took it over without giving the matter very much thought. F. L. Nussbaum has summed up this aspect of the situation in words that are almost as applicable today as they were when he wrote some twenty years ago: 'The general development of historiography with an economic intention has made less space than almost any other specialization for the conceptual pattern for which we use the symbol "Renaissance".' Then, a few lines further on he added: 'Broadly speaking, the equivalent category in economic history is "early capitalism" or sometimes "the commercial revolution".'[3] This last comment may furnish us a clue through the chronological maze, although there have also been wide variations in the chronological limits assigned to early capitalism and there has been more than one commercial revolution.[4] At the same time, since in many respects the Renaissance was a transitional period, the disintegration of such medieval forms of economic activity as the manorial system must concern us as well as the rise of such characteristically modern phenomena as capitalism. While recognizing that any scheme of periodization must be arbitrary and open to objection, for the purpose of the present discussion I will consider the term 'Renaissance economic history' as applying to western Europe during the period from roughly 1300 to 1600.

Before discussing the new developments in economic historiography during the last two decades or so, it might be well to take a brief glance at the work of the preceding generation and the problems which interested it. It is always easier to assess the significance of change if one has first established a point of departure.

In the early decades of this century, students of medieval and Renaissance economic history generally followed one of two distinct, though not altogether mutually exclusive, methods. Those whose interest was primarily in what might be called pure economic history were busy establishing the structure, the external form, of commerce, industry, agriculture, and finance. This group—the more numerous, if less spectacular—may be classified roughly as institutionalists. Their work was

[3] Nussbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

[4] Nussbaum was following the prevailing opinion in making the 'commercial revolution' date from the beginning of the sixteenth century; but R. Lopez in *The Cambridge Economic History*, II (Cambridge, 1952), 289, uses the term for the period from the late eleventh to the early fourteenth century, and R. de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 11, speaks of a 'Commercial Revolution' around the year 1300.

of basic importance, and it retains its value despite later additions and modifications. A second group, which might be termed idealist and which owed its inspiration in part to Marx and Hegel, in part to the school of sociological *Geisteswissenschaften* founded by Wilhelm Dilthey, was concerned primarily with the spirit—the *Geist*—of capitalism. Of the exponents of this tendency, the most influential—and controversial—figures were Werner Sombart and Max Weber. Their theories are too complex to be summarized here, and are still too familiar to need retelling. Briefly, Sombart regarded the capitalist spirit as the creative force responsible for the evolution of modern capitalism, a spirit which made its first appearance toward the end of the fifteenth century and which was radically different from the spirit of the artisan or craftsman which characterized the pre-capitalist economy of the middle ages. Working more closely in the Diltheyan tradition, Weber sought to find the origins of the capitalist spirit or type of *Weltanschauung*, which he also regarded as essentially a new phenomenon in the sixteenth century, and he found them primarily in Calvinist or Puritan worldly asceticism and the religiously motivated concept of the calling. About these two theories the storms of controversy raged until the early thirties,[5] by which time they were largely discredited, the origins of capitalism having by that time been traced by historians of the institutionalist school back to the fourteenth century and beyond.

Meanwhile, the emphasis placed upon the spirit of capitalism by Sombart and Weber, together with the discovery of the early development of capitalist economy, especially in Italy and the Netherlands, had encouraged a number of historians to note a relation between the economic individualism characteristic of capitalist enterprise and the spirit of individualism which the Burckhardtian tradition had established as the essential trait of Renaissance civilization from the fourteenth century on.

As early as 1907, Henri Pirenne, a pioneer here as elsewhere, noted

[5] For discussion of this controversy and the relevant literature see the article by Nussbaum cited above and F. H. Knight, 'Historical and Theoretical Issues in the Problem of Medieval Capitalism', *Journal of Economic and Business History* I (1928), 119–136; Talcott Parsons, 'Capitalism in Recent German Literature: Sombart and Weber', *Journal of Political Economy* XXXVI (1928), 641–661; M. M. Postan, 'Studies in Bibliography: Medieval Capitalism', *Economic History Review* IV (1932–1933), 212–227; E. Fischoff, 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: the History of a Controversy', *Social Research* XI (1944), 53–77; and H. M. Robertson, *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism* (Cambridge, 1933).

that capitalism 'impregnated the economic world with that character of individualism which was manifesting itself equally at that time in the domain of thought and in that of art'. And he concluded: 'In short, the Renaissance manifested itself in the order of exchange and production as in all the other manifestations of human activity.'[6] Some twenty years later Jakob Strieder called attention forcibly to the same parallel between the two types of individualism.[7] But by that time the more common tendency, as illustrated for example by Ferdinand Schevill,[8] was to give priority to the individualistic spirit of the capitalist entrepreneur and to find in it the original causal force. In 1924 Halvdan Koht argued at some length that the emancipation of the individual, which, following Burckhardt, he accepted as the dominant characteristic of the Renaissance, had originated not in the peculiar political situation of Italy but in the economic individualism that was the essential characteristic of capitalism.[9] A somewhat similar thesis was later worked out with infinite ramifications by Alfred von Martin.[10] As a variation on this theme, Edgar Zilsel, too, ascribed the motive force behind the growth of modern science to the rational method and calculating spirit of capitalist economy.[11]

Meanwhile, too, the solid researches of an increasing number of economic historians, mostly of the institutionalist type, had been piling up masses of detailed information which had not been available to the pioneers who had formed large hypotheses on the basis of inadequate data. By the 1930s the time was ripe for attempts at synthesis. In the decade before the second World War a distinguished group of historians—I need mention only the names of Henri Pirenne, Henri Laurent, Marc Bloch, Henri Sée, Joseph Kulischer, Alfred Doren, M. M. Knight, Herbert Heaton, and J. W. Thompson—had made available the results of detailed research in general economic histories. The major outlines of the formal structure of medieval and Renaissance economy were now established. What remained was to fill in further detail or to modify the

[6] H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, III (Brussels, 1907), 219.

[7] *Propyläen Weltgeschichte*, IV (Berlin, 1932), 5 f.

[8] J. W. Thompson, G. Rowler, F. Schevill, and G. Sarton, *The Civilization of the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1929), pp. 55 f.

[9] H. Koht, 'Le problème des origines de la Renaissance', *Revue de synthèse historique* XXXVII (1924), 107–116.

[10] A. von Martin, *Soziologie der Renaissance* (Tübingen, 1932).

[11] E. Zilsel, 'The Sociological Roots of Science', *American Journal of Sociology* XLVII (1942), 544–560.

resultant picture by regarding the data from a new point of view or in the context of a new frame of reference.

The outbreak of the second World War slowed up research and writing in economic history, as in all other branches of scholarship, and eventually it brought them almost to a standstill in the countries most deeply engaged. Even where scholars continued to work, they were cut off from fruitful intercourse with their colleagues on the other side of the belligerent line. When the restoration of peace of a sort once more released the flow of scholarly work, the atmosphere had in many respects changed.

There was, of course, a very large element of continuity. Many economic historians continued to work along lines already laid out, or resumed their work at the conclusion of hostilities where they had been forced to leave it. Works outlining the structure and tracing the development of particular industries or branches of commerce continued to appear,[12] although not in such volume as in the preceding two decades. Regional studies of the kind that Gino Luzzatto had noted as among the most important contributions to the economic history of Italy in the early part of the century[13] also continued, and in ever-increasing proportion. This seems to be particularly true of France, where lists of recent publications on the economic history of our period show a preponderant majority of such studies,[14] a fact possibly explained in part by the immense influence of the late Marc Bloch.

On the other hand, certain problems seem to have dropped out of the picture. I find in the economic history written since the war little interest in the spirit of capitalism in the sense in which Sombart and Weber had made it a subject of controversy. I also find fewer references to the relation between economic individualism and Renaissance individualism, although it has been recently reasserted by Armando Sapori,[15]

[12] See, for example, E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (London, 1941); D. Burwash, *English Merchant Shipping, 1460–1540* (Toronto, 1947); G. D. Ramsey, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1943); E. Sabbe, *Histoire de l'industrie linière en Belgique* (Brussels, 1945); and K. Pagel, *Die Hanse* (Brunswick, 1952).

[13] G. Luzzatto, 'The Study of Medieval Economic History in Italy: Recent Literature and Tendencies', *Journal of Economic and Business History* IV (1931–1932), 708–727.

[14] See, for example, R. Boutruche, 'Histoire de France au Moyen Âge: Publications des années 1940–46', *Revue Historique* CCVII (1949), 235–272; 'Histoire de France au Moyen Âge: Publications des années 1947–53', *ibid.* CCXIII (1955), 47–80; Ph. Wolff, 'List of Books and Articles on Medieval Economic History of France published in France, 1950–52', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, VI (1953–1954), 339–343.

[15] A. Sapori, *L'età della Rinascita: secoli XIII–XVI* (Milan, 1958), pp. 250 ff.

while Yves Renouard and others[16] have called attention to the influence of business men on the shaping of Renaissance culture. Perhaps the apparent lack of interest since the war in the *geisteswissenschaftlich* approach is a symptom of the decline of German leadership in historical thought and scholarship since the early thirties. But it is also noticeable that there have been fewer general economic histories devoted to our period in the past twenty years than in the single decade before the war. I can think of only three significant works of that kind as compared to the dozen or so published in the thirties: the two volumes of *The Cambridge Economic History*, published in 1942 and 1952, but both planned before the war; Gino Luzzatto's *Storia economica d'Italia* (1949); and F. Lütge's *Deutsche Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1952). The predominant characteristics of the economic history written during the past twenty years, as compared to that of the preceding period, seem to be the collecting of factual information, the empirical testing of accepted ideas, and the interpretation of the data in terms of economic theory, rather than making extensive surveys or formulating the sociological hypotheses of the early pioneers.

One important tendency in the past two decades has been the greatly accelerated interest in business history as a distinct discipline. This is one of the newer branches of economic history. As described by N. S. B. Gras, one of its early protagonists, business history is not the history of commerce, industry, banking, agriculture, and so forth, but that of individual units of business enterprise.[17] Its source material is to be found, not in guild regulations, city ordinances, state legislation, or treatises on the conduct of business, but in the records of individual business men, partnerships, and firms—in account books, diaries, partnership agreements, notarial records, correspondence, and all the detailed evidence of the way in which a particular business actually operated. The value of this kind of study is that it sees commerce and industry as it were from the inside and thus frequently serves as a corrective to the generalizations of those institutionalist historians who were primarily concerned with the external structure of the various forms of economic activity. The range of focus is narrow, but the details seen thus have a realistic clarity lacking in the broader view. Above all, it concentrates attention on the practical problems of management and control of business enter-

[16] Y. Renouard, *Les Hommes d'affaires italiens du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1949), p. 246; and A. Sapori in *Il Rinascimento: significato e limiti*, p. 130.

[17] N. S. B. Gras, 'Business History', *Economic History Review* IV (1934), 385–398.

prise, problems for which guild statutes and economic legislation in general offer little evidence.

Studies of individual businesses or firms were not, it is true, entirely unprecedented. The Fuggers early attracted the attention of scholars, largely because of the great influence they exerted on political events in the reign of Charles v, and the preservation of their records and news letters led to a series of extensive studies early in the century. The flamboyant career of Jacques Coeur as merchant and royal minister also attracted numerous biographers. The scholars whose attention was drawn to such unusual personalities as Jacques Coeur and Jacob Fugger, however, were not primarily interested in business history in the sense in which Professor Gras envisaged it. The true pioneer in that field was Armando Sapori, whose studies of the Bardi and Peruzzi firms (1926) and of the firm of del Bene (1932) were models of their kind.[18] He has since furnished material for further such studies by publishing the account books of several fourteenth- and fifteenth-century firms.[19] The influence of Professors Gras and Usher has also led to a considerable interest among American historians in the history of Renaissance business, and there is evidence in other countries of a growing interest in this field. Some of the most fruitful research has been devoted to merchants who were not politically important and who did not operate on an unusually large scale, but whose records for that very reason furnish us with a clearer picture of the activity of the average business man of that period. The degree to which studies of this kind can lend concrete reality to the economic history of the Renaissance has been demonstrated, for example, by Raymond de Roover's study of a firm of Florentine cloth manufacturers (1941),[20] which corrected Alfred Doren's classic account of the industry in many particulars, by Frederick Lane's monograph on Andrea Barbarigo (1944),[21] and by Iris Origo's more

[18] A. Sapori, *La crisi delle compagnie mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi* (Florence, 1926); *Una compagnia di Calimala ai primi del Trecento* (Florence, 1932). See also the articles collected in his *Studi di storia economica medievale* (Florence, 1946).

[19] A. Sapori, *I libri di commercio dei Peruzzi* (Milan, 1934); *I libri della ragione bancaria dei Gianfigliazzi* (Milan, 1943); *Liber tercius Friscorubaldorum* (Florence, 1947); and *I libri degli Alberti del Giudice* (Milan, 1952).

[20] R. de Roover, 'A Florentine Firm of Cloth Manufacturers: Management and Organization of a Sixteenth-Century Business', *Speculum* XVI (1941), 3–33; see also his 'The Story of the Alberti Company of Florence, 1302–1348, as revealed in its Account Books', *Business History Review* XXXIII (1958), 14–59.

[21] F. C. Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice, 1418–1449* (Baltimore, 1944); see also his 'Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures in the Venetian Republic', *Journal of Economic History* IV (1944), 178–196.

recent biography of Francesco di Marco Datini of Prato (1957).[22] Such studies may also give us a more accurate description of the capitalist spirit in action than we could get from more general and theoretical works.

Research based on business records has been especially fruitful in clarifying the early history of banking and exchange procedures. This was one of the last aspects of early capitalism to receive adequate analysis and interpretation. The technical problems involved here were unusually forbidding, and the fact that the great banking firms combined traffic in goods with handling foreign exchange and commercial loans, and that they operated in part on capital deposited with them on which they paid interest, made it difficult to isolate and define their activity as bankers. In the early work on the economic history of this period, too, there was a good deal of confusion regarding the distinction between the activity of money-changers who handled actual coins and that of dealers in bills of exchange, between banks of international scope and local banks of deposit, as well as the important distinction between the great Italian banking firms who made commercial loans or loans to governments and the Lombards or Cahorsins who were merely petty usurers and pawnbrokers.

Work of basic importance for the early history of banks of deposit and the technique of making transfers of credit on the books of local banks was done by A. P. Usher[23] and F. C. Lane[24] in the thirties and forties. The most important recent contributions to the whole problem of banking and exchange, however, have been made by Raymond de Roover, whose training, first as an expert accountant for some ten years in his native Belgium and then as a graduate student with Usher and Gras at Harvard and J. U. Nef at Chicago, made him peculiarly fitted to unravel and interpret the records of the early banking concerns. Choosing Bruges as a center where the activity of both Italian and Flemish financiers—the most advanced in that period—could be studied and compared, he analyzed the whole range of financial procedure dur-

[22] I. Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: the Life and Papers of Francesco di Marco Datini* (London, 1957).

[23] A. P. Usher, 'Deposit Banking in Barcelona, 1300–1700', *Journal of Economic and Business History* IV (1931), 121–155; 'The Origins of Banking: the Primitive Bank of Deposit, 1200–1600', *Economic History Review* IV (1934), 399–428; *The Early History of Deposit Banking in Mediterranean Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943).

[24] F. C. Lane, 'Venetian Bankers, 1496–1533: a Study in the Early Stages of Deposit Banking', *Journal of Political Economy* XCV (1937), 187–206.

ing the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in a book entitled *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges* (1948). Here he clarified much earlier confusion by dealing separately with three distinct types of dealers in money: the Italian merchant-bankers, the Lombards or Italian pawnbrokers, and the native money-changers. In this book and in a number of supplementary monographs and articles[25] he also worked out in detail the technique of transferring money from one country to another by bills of exchange and established the fact that the bill of exchange was also an instrument of credit, by means of which short-term loans could be made without running afoul of the ecclesiastical prohibition of usury. In the same year, 1948, de Roover also published a second major contribution to the history of early banking in his study of *The Medici Bank, its Organization, Management, Operation and Decline*. There had been earlier studies of the Medici bank. The pioneer work was done by Heinrich Sieveking in 1905.[26] But the political and cultural importance of the Medici has so far overshadowed their purely business activity that the operation of their bank has been largely neglected or taken for granted in the voluminous literature devoted to the family. De Roover's study, on the contrary, deals with the Medici bank exclusively as a business concern, drawing its material almost entirely from the firm's account books and other records. As he himself notes in the preface: 'this study is an attempt to show how the wheels turned around in the business world of the Renaissance. The method is the same as that which would be used in the analysis of the structure, the policies and the history of a modern business concern.' In the process he not only illustrates the business life of the fifteenth century but also rounds out our picture of its most illustrious family.

The recent school of business history has, by the very nature of its methods, contributed more to the establishment of concrete information than to general interpretation, but it has served to correct many misapprehensions and it has furnished the basis for some important generalizations. One result of its concentration upon the problems of business management has been a growing awareness of the change in the

[25] R. de Roover, *L'Évolution de la lettre de change, XIVe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1953); 'Appunti sulla storia della cambiale e del contratto di cambio', *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* (Milan, 1950), pp. 193–219; 'Le Contrat de change depuis la fin du treizième siècle jusqu'au début du dix-septième', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* XXV (1946–1947), 111–128; 'Cambium ad Venetias: Contribution to the History of Foreign Exchange', *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori* (Milan, 1957), pp. 629–648.

[26] H. Sieveking, *Die Handlungsbücher der Medici* (Vienna, 1905).

methods of conducting business in Italy and the Netherlands around the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, a change so decisive that it has been termed a 'commercial revolution'[27] and has been hailed as marking a definite stage in the evolution of capitalist enterprise. The change may not, indeed, be sufficiently revolutionary to warrant our drawing a clear line between medieval and Renaissance capitalism at about the year 1300, but it seems significant enough to be taken into consideration when we attempt to establish the chronological boundaries between the two periods. What was involved in the change was the gradual passing of the type of itinerant merchant who traveled with his goods and whose activity centered around the Champagne fairs, and the appearance in his place of a new type of entrepreneur, the sedentary merchant who remained at home in his counting house and conducted his business abroad by means of correspondence with partners, factors, or commission agents. The basic distinction in character, methods, and activity of these two types was outlined by N. S. B. Gras in his *Business and Capitalism* in 1939.[28] It has since been generally accepted, although there is still debate as to whether the change was caused by the decline of the Champagne fairs, the opening of a direct sea route from Italy to the Netherlands and the resultant migration of Italian business men to Bruges, or whether it was simply the result of shrinking profits as commerce became safer and competition keener. The latter argument, at any rate, has been advanced by Robert Lopez in the second volume of *The Cambridge Economic History*.[29]

A second noticeable tendency in the economic historiography of the past two or three decades has been the accumulation of statistical data and the introduction of quantitative criteria in place of the earlier preoccupation with the institutional structure of commerce, industry, and finance or the still earlier qualitative criteria of those scholars whose primary concern was the capitalist spirit. In place of description or sociological analysis, the new tendency is to concentrate attention upon the discovery of secular or long-term trends and upon the measurement of the rate of change in population, prices, and the volume of production and exchange, concepts susceptible of interpretation in terms of

[27] See note 4 above.

[28] See also N. S. B. Gras, 'Stages in Business History', in *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, pp. 5–27; and R. Grousset, *Villes marchandes aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris, 1948), pp. 25 ff.

[29] *The Cambridge Economic History*, II, 335.

pure economic theory.[30] The quantitative approach is basically empirical, but it can also lead to the formation of hypotheses. In a programmatic article in 1932, entitled 'The Application of the Quantitative Method to Economic History',[31] A. P. Usher called attention to the potential usefulness of this method for the correction of institutionalist or idealist constructions of economic history. It has since become increasingly prevalent in studies of late medieval and Renaissance economy. The combination of statistical research with economic theory has been particularly fruitful in elucidating the problems presented by the relation of money to the general economy: the fluctuating values of the monetary metals, their shifting relation to one another and to money of account, the relative rapidity of monetary circulation and the effect of governmental devaluation of coinage.[32] E. J. Hamilton's massive study of *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain* (1932), based on a vast accumulation of statistics and a quantity theory of money, was an early example and has influenced all later discussion of the economic trends of the sixteenth century.[33] Since the early thirties English economic historians have also devoted a great deal of attention to the statistical study of trends in English foreign trade from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, a study for which the preservation of the customs accounts offers unusual opportunities; but continental scholars, too, have been increasingly preoccupied with the search for such statistical data as are available. In 1955 Armando Sapori was able to hail with satisfaction the immense progress that had been made in the collection of quantitative data on production, circulation, and prices of goods since he had urged the need for such research at the International Congress held at Zurich in 1938.[34]

Now the value to the specialist in economic history of quantitative data, as of any other form of pertinent information, is incontestable, although it is obvious that it furnishes only one of the ingredients from

[30] See, for example, H. and P Chaunu, 'A la recherche des fluctuations cycliques dans l'économie des XVIe et XVIIe siècles', in *Homage à L. Febvre*, II (Paris, 1953), 389–407.

[31] *Journal of Political Economy* XL (1932), 186–209.

[32] For a recent survey of the literature on this subject, see F. Braudel and F. C. Spooner, 'Les métaux monétaires et l'économie du XVIe siècle', in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, 1955*, IV (Florence, 1957), 233–264.

[33] The general accuracy of Hamilton's statistical curves has recently been confirmed by H. and P. Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique, 1504–1650* (Paris, 1955–1957).

[34] A. Sapori, 'I beni del commercio internazionale nel medioevo', *Archivio Storico Italiano* CXIII (1955), 3.

which he may reconstruct the complex economic life of any period, and too exclusive reliance upon it on the part of recent historians has aroused apprehension in the minds of some thoughtful scholars.[35] But historians of culture in general also must be interested to know whether the period they are attempting to interpret was one of rising or declining prosperity. The accumulated evidence of a great quantitative expansion of the European economy in the sixteenth century will cause no one to change his views. It has long been taken for granted. On the other hand, Fernand Braudel's study of the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II,[36] with its argument, supported by masses of statistical evidence, that the balance of financial and commercial preponderance did not shift from the Mediterranean to the north until well into the seventeenth century, may cause historians to reconsider some of their assumptions regarding the economic background of the decline of the Italian Renaissance in the sixteenth century, although it remains true that Italy was not the economic center of Braudel's Mediterranean world as it had been in earlier centuries.

A more serious problem for historians of the Renaissance, however, and particularly of the Renaissance in Italy, it seems to me, is that posed by a number of recent scholars whose statistical research has led them to depict the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as, on the whole, a period of economic stagnation or decline. As Delio Cantimori pointed out in a recent article,[37] students of the Italian Renaissance have found it disturbing to discover that the period which they think of as the Renaissance in literature, learning, and art is now depicted as one of economic decadence. English, French, and German cultural historians, accustomed to thinking of their national renaissance as beginning toward the end of the fifteenth century or in the early sixteenth, may be less concerned, as also may those who accept Huizinga's characterization of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the waning of the middle ages. There may even be some medievalists who would welcome the idea with a feeling that an economic depression served the Renaissance right and was no

[35] Cf. Sapori, *ibid.*, pp. 4–11; and G. Luzzatto, 'Tendenze nuove negli studi di storia economica', *Nuova Revista Storica* XXXV (1951), fasc. 3–4, p. 13.

[36] F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949).

[37] D. Cantimori, 'Il problema rinascimentale proposto da Armando Sapori', in *Studi in onore di A. Sapori*, pp. 935–947.

more than could be expected. The thesis of economic stagnation or decline in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries cannot, however, be so lightly dismissed by historians who, like myself, regard these centuries as marking one of the most important stages in the transition from medieval to modern civilization, not only in Italy but throughout western Europe. Whether we accept all the conclusions of the most enthusiastic proponents of this thesis or not, we must, I think, pause to reconsider the assumptions upon which our interpretation has in part been based, and to this subject I would like to devote the remainder of my paper.

A generation ago the assumption taken for granted by most historians was that the transformation of European civilization during this period was accompanied by—if not founded upon—a steadily rising prosperity, increasing wealth, and expanding commercial and industrial activity. As stated by E. P. Cheyney in 1936 in the opening chapter of his book, *The Dawn of a New Era, 1250–1453*, 'the most fundamental of the changes that marked the passage from medieval to modern times was the increase of wealth, and the principal cause of the increase of wealth was the extension of commerce.'[38] An assumption of constantly increasing wealth during this period formed part of my own conception of the Renaissance twenty years ago.[39] It was obvious, of course, that the mortality caused by the Black Death must for a time have reduced the number of both consumers and producers, and that the devastation which accompanied the Hundred Years' War must have materially reduced the wealth of a large part of France. But I think that there was a general assumption that the development of more efficient forms of capitalist organization of commerce, industry, and finance soon made good the losses caused by the Black Death in most parts of Europe. In any case, the predominantly institutionalist approach of the majority of economic historians in the prewar period focused attention on changes in economic organization rather than upon quantitative variations or trends in the volume of production and exchange.

Now, the first serious suggestion of which I am aware that this conception was open to question appeared in Henri Pirenne's *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (1937). Here he noted that the beginning of the fourteenth century marked the end of the period of medieval economic expansion, that 'during the early years of the fourteenth century there is observable in all these directions [of economic activity]

[38] (New York, 1936), p. 2.

[39] W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance* (New York, 1940), p. 46.

not perhaps a decline but a cessation of all advance. Europe lived, so to speak, on what had been acquired; the economic front was stabilized.'[40] During the next few years this revisionist thesis was echoed in scattered articles[41] which stated it more strongly and translated stability into decline, but it did not attract general attention until after the war, when scholars were once more able to establish contact with the work of their colleagues in other countries and when the volume of scholarly research, dammed up by the war, once more flowed freely into print. It dominated the debates of the section on late medieval economy at the Ninth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Paris in 1950 and again at the Tenth Congress held in Rome in 1955, and it was given the official sanction of those august bodies in the coöperative reports subsequently published.[42] It also formed the central theme of the second volume of *The Cambridge Economic History* (1952). The effort to revise the traditional conception of the Renaissance as a period of expanding wealth has been international in scope. Among the most prominent contributors to it are M. M. Postan in England, Renée Doehaerd in Belgium, Edouard Perroy in France, W. Abel in Germany, Armando Sapori and Carlo Cipolla in Italy, and J. U. Nef and Robert Lopez in the United States.

The first question we have to ask in relation to their thesis, it seems to me, is: has it been proven? There have been some dissenting voices,[43] and even its protagonists are not agreed as to either the intensity or the duration of the recession. Carlo Cipolla, for example, notes a rising secular trend in Italy, beginning toward the end of the fourteenth century and continuing through the fifteenth,[44] while Robert Lopez states flatly

[40] H. Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York, 1937), p. 192 f.

[41] See, for example, M. M. Postan, 'Revisions in Economic History: the Fifteenth Century', *Economic History Review* IX (1938–1939), 160–167; J. U. Nef, 'Industrial Europe on the Eve of the Reformation', *Journal of Political Economy* XLIX (1941), 1–40, 183–224; J. Saltmarsh, 'Plague and Economic Decline in the Later Middle Ages', *Cambridge Historical Journal* VII (1940), 23–40.

[42] M. M. Postan, 'Rapport: Histoire économique: Moyen Âge', in *IXe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Paris, 1950*, I (Paris, 1950), 225–241; and discussion, II, 110–114; M. Mollat, P. Johansen, M. Postan, A. Sapori and C. Verlinden, 'L'économie européen aux deux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge', *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Roma, 1955*, III (Florence, 1957), 655–811.

[43] See E. A. Kosminsky, 'Peut-on considérer le XIVe et le XVe siècles comme l'époque de la décadence de l'économie européen?' *Studi in onore di A. Sapori*, pp. 551–570; and H. Baron in *American Historical Review* LXI (1956), 1087 ff.

[44] C. M. Cipolla, 'The Trends in Italian Economic History in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, II (1949), 181–184.

that the period from about 1330 to 1530, with perhaps an additional decade or two at either end, was 'one of great depression followed by moderate and incomplete recovery', and that Italy 'felt the impact of the economic recession most heavily'.[45] Masses of statistical evidence have been produced, but the available statistics seldom form a continuous series or are sufficiently homogeneous to serve as a basis for accurate comparison. It is difficult to determine whether the decline of some old industries, like the manufacture of fine woolen cloth in Florence and the Netherlands, was not adequately compensated by the growth of newer industries like the making of silks, light woolens, linens, and fustians; or whether the decline of some old cities was not compensated by growth in others. To what extent did the growth of rural industry in England and the Netherlands make up for the losses suffered by the old industrial cities? These and other similar questions still call for further research.

Nevertheless, the weight of the evidence does seem to justify the conclusion that, taking western Europe as a whole, there was a general cessation of economic growth in the early years of the fourteenth century, and that this was followed by a long period of contraction in the volume of production and exchange. There seems to be especially convincing evidence of a prolonged agricultural depression in England, France, and parts of Germany. Land prices fell, and not only did the clearing of land for cultivation cease, but much marginal land that had been cleared during the thirteenth century was now abandoned, either because worked out or no longer needed. The demographic curve, which had been rising for two or three hundred years, apparently began to drop in the early fourteenth century, then fell drastically with the Black Death, while normal recovery was checked for a century or more by recurrences of the plague and by the devastation caused by war.[46] It seems reasonable to assume, too, that commerce and industry suffered quantitatively from the reduction in population and hence in both labor supply and markets. And meanwhile, the European economy had ceased to expand geographically. The eastward drive of German colonization came to a halt, while the frontiers of European trade in the near east were beginning to shrink. The medieval frontier was closing, as A. R.

[45] R. Lopez, 'Hard Times and Investment in Culture', in *The Renaissance: a Symposium* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), pp. 19–34.

[46] See J. C. Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Populations* (Philadelphia, 1958), pp. 99 ff., 113 ff.

Lewis argued in an article in *Speculum* in 1958,[47] with results comparable to those which followed the closing of the American frontier at the end of the last century. The fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth, in short, were plagued throughout by catastrophes and crises. But did not these very crises hasten rather than retard the transition from medieval to modern civilization?

With that question in mind, let us grant for the moment the thesis of the economic revisionists, and ask what effect it may have upon our interpretation of this period. In the first place, one of the major elements in the transition from medieval to modern civilization seems to me to be a shift in the center of gravity of economic, social, and cultural life from the country to the city,[48] and this may well have been accelerated by the relatively more severe impact of the depression upon the landholding classes—the nobles and the higher clergy—although, because of falling rents and rising wages, the peasants were in most places apparently better off than they had been. A second, and related, element, the disintegration of feudalism and the rise of centralized state governments, was undoubtedly hastened by the impoverishment of the nobility and by the disruption of the manorial system, the economic basis of feudalism, which accompanied the economic and demographic crisis of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth. Despite any possible reduction in total wealth, this period saw a rapid increase in governmental income through taxation, which enabled kings and princes to extend their military and administrative authority at the expense of feudal particularism, even though it aggravated the economic crisis, as Lopez has pointed out,[49] by imposing a crushing burden on the economy of the state. In these centuries the church, which represented the universal principle in medieval civilization, also passed through a crisis that shook it to its foundations, but this crisis seems to have been caused less by economic recession than by the intrusion of too much money into the fabric of church government. When we turn to the economic and social development within the cities, we may admit as a reasonable hypothesis that there was a reduction in total wealth corresponding to the reduction in population. But was the *per capita* wealth reduced

[47] A. R. Lewis, 'The Closing of the Medieval Frontier, 1250–1350', *Speculum* XXXIII (1958), 475–483.

[48] W. K. Ferguson, 'The Interpretation of the Renaissance: Suggestions for a Synthesis', *Journal of the History of Ideas* XII (1951), 483–495.

[49] Lopez, 'Hard Times', p. 22 f.

thereby? In any case most of the exponents of the thesis of recession are agreed that shrinking markets, smaller profits, and keener competition accelerated the development of more rational and efficient techniques of business enterprise, resulting in a qualitative advance in the evolution of capitalism much greater than that which took place during the rapid quantitative expansion of the European economy in the sixteenth century.[50] And if, as has been suggested,[51] one result of the crisis was that the rich got richer while the poor got poorer, we must remember that it was concentrated wealth rather than widely distributed prosperity that was responsible for the patronage of art, letters, music, and all the higher forms of intellectual and aesthetic culture. Nor, in this regard, should we forget the unprecedented concentration of wealth during this period in the hands of kings and princes which accompanied the growth of central government in territorial and national states. It was the wealth of the Burgundian court as well as of the Flemish cities that furnished the material basis for the flourishing art of the Netherlands in the fifteenth century. And if, as Huizinga has so brilliantly demonstrated, an air of decadence hangs over the literature of northern France and the Netherlands in this period, this was not the result of poverty but rather of the fact that under the influence of the Burgundian and royal courts literary tradition still expressed, with increasing aridity, the ideals and conventional attitudes of a noble class whose economic, social, and political roots had been cut off from the soil in which they had grown during the middle ages.

But it is in Italy rather than the north that the relation of economic to cultural growth poses the most serious problem for the historian, for it was here that the culture which we think of as specifically Renaissance grew in the midst of what is now portrayed as a period of economic depression. So far as patronage is concerned, I think the fruits of those years are ample proof that there was still enough to go around. In Italy, earlier than elsewhere, the concentration of wealth based on taxation furnished princes with the means of patronage. If, moreover, there was any reduction in total wealth, it was more than compensated by the growth of a tradition of culture which, more than any quantitative variation in wealth, differentiates the world of the Medici from that of the Bardi and Peruzzi. But the economic factors which helped to condition the culture of the Italian Renaissance were by no means limited

[50] Cf. Braudel and Spooner, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 f.; and Mollat, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 f.
[51] *The Cambridge Economic History*, II, 343 ff.

to the mere existence of surplus wealth or the direct economic stimulus of patronage. The culture of the Italian Renaissance was different from that of the middle ages—though not, of course, completely different—because it was produced by and for a different kind of society from that characteristic of the greater part of medieval Europe. It was a society formed in large part by the early expansion of commerce and industry and the resultant growth of a wealthy urban society. One distinguishing characteristic of this society was the increasing participation in cultural activity of urban laymen, which broke the clerical monopoly of learning and the chivalric tradition in vernacular literature and which found expression in an increasingly urban and secular tone in literature, learning, art, and music. Now the growth of capitalism was, it seems to me, an important factor in stimulating this development of lay culture, first, by requiring literacy of every one engaged in business and, second, by offering opportunities for the passive investment of inherited income, which made it possible for a growing number of the upper classes in the cities to seek higher education, to qualify for the lay learned professions, and to form an appreciative public for the work of artists and writers. It seems to me, then, that the influence of capitalism upon the culture of the Renaissance depended rather more upon the evolution of its forms of business organization than upon the production of absolute wealth.

In conclusion, it seems to me that the recent tendency to concentrate attention upon the quantitative analysis of long-term trends in economic production and exchange, while undoubtedly important, tells us less that is of value in explaining and interpreting the civilization of this period than did the earlier studies of the structure of economic life, amplified, as they have been, by the more recent studies of individual business enterprises. It might be well to heed the warning of Armando Sapori not to ask of statistical data more than they can offer.[52] Perhaps it is time now, with our increased knowledge, to return to the kind of question posed earlier in the century by Sombart, Weber, Pirenne, and others and to analyze once more the spirit which motivated Renaissance business men, to reconsider the relation between religion and business ethics,[53] and to reassess the possible relation between economic individual-

[52] Sapori, 'I beni del commercio', *Archivio Storico Italiano* CXIII, 6 f.

[53] Some important work has been done recently on the subject of usury as one aspect of the relation between religion and business ethics. See, for example, B. Nelson, *The Idea of Usury* (Princeton, 1949); Florence Edler de Roover, 'Restitution in Renaissance

ism and the culture of the Renaissance. If we are to understand a civilization in which business men played an active part, it seems more important to know how they conducted their business, how they felt about it, what manner of men they were, and what were their aims and interests than to know whether the long-term trend of production and exchange was rising or falling. There may, indeed, be a point in asking whether the men of that age *thought* that things were getting better or worse, whether the psychological atmosphere was basically optimistic or pessimistic, but such subjective reactions are not susceptible of statistical analysis. Francesco di Marco Datini may have lived in an era of economic depression, but it is illuminating to know that he hopefully headed each of his ledgers with the inscription 'in the name of God and of profit'.[54] Perhaps this was, after all, the spirit of capitalism.

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Florence', *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori* (Milan, 1947), pp. 773–789; R. de Roover, 'Cambium ad Venetias', *ibid.*, pp. 632 ff.

[54] Origo, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

The Renaissance and Historians of Science[1]

TWENTY years have passed since the *Surveys of Recent Scholarship in the Period of the Renaissance* were planned for the Committee on Renaissance Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, offprints of which were grouped in a brochure circulated under the date of 1945. Any review of progress in these fields ought to start with these useful compendia, even though several important areas were not explored at that time. Science was abundantly documented by Francis Johnson and Sanford Larkey, whose critical evaluations afforded a guide to the physical sciences and mathematics, including astronomy, geography, and cartography, as well as the principal parts of biology.[2]

In 1940 Johnson could properly remark that much detailed work had been contributed from outside the circle of historians of science, then still a small group whose boundaries were somewhat vague, whose methods and objectives uncertain. George Sarton's work was beginning to bear fruit, *Isis* was well established in the United States soon after, and a new generation of teachers was on its way to new departments. Lynn Thorndike's massive *machine de guerre*[3] was passing its halfway mark, and his teaching and writing was stimulating a good deal of activity. Now, as we reach 1960, the situation of Renaissance science as a study has changed in several ways; we may be no nearer Francis Johnson's dream of a complete picture of Renaissance activities in this field, but we have many more monographs and articles to draw on, and a few efforts at original synthesis which make older views almost unrecognizable.

[1] A version of this paper was presented at the twentieth anniversary meeting of the New England Renaissance Conference at Brown University on 16 October 1959

[2] *Modern Language Quarterly* II (1941), 363–401.

[3] Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vols. III and IV, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (New York, 1934). Vols. V and VI were published in 1941.

There are many reasons why this paper cannot do what Johnson and Larkey did so successfully in 1940; I shall specify only two, a justifiable impatience with what must needs be a very long list of titles with capsule comments, and the fact that interest and modesty lead me to try another direction. I propose to look rather at some writings about the Renaissance in an attempt to discover how the activities of that period appear from the point of view of modern historians who have interested themselves in the rise of science and technology, which we recognize now as perhaps the most lively intellectual forces at work among us today. It is useful to look at science in the Renaissance rather from the point of view of its general development in the world at large, as a factor in world politics and strategy, than as a phenomenon bounded by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in one dimension and western Europe in another. The question we may ask is what various activities, avowedly scientific or not, in our period have contributed to the present state of our world as a whole.

Renaissance science continues to be associated with a few strongly marked and dramatic figures. No 'medievalist' debunking can destroy the legendary importance of Leonardo, Vesalius, and Copernicus; there is a sense in which they form the chief component of the Renaissance contribution. They are the 'culture heroes', and it is with them that the historian has to reckon as he works his way through this age of stubborn legends and obscure facts. Sarton, who rejected the claim of the Renaissance to a notable place in the history of science in 1929,[4] later paid such groups as this the compliment of speaking on the period at some length, though, as I shall suggest, he never really reversed the general stand of that rather impolite piece. Rather, he recognized the significance of the shadow cast over later views of the Renaissance by the three men, and his essential humanism, his infinite curiosity about human beings and their ways, led him in later writings to study their work with sympathy and insight. Thorndike could not do that; in his writings it is not impossible to read even a dislike for the persons and texts his program condemns him to discuss. There is little in his work to suggest a general outlook on the problems of history, nothing of the generous philosophical humanity of Charles Singer or Herbert Butterfield. There is a problem here for us all which goes beyond Wallace Ferguson's excellent study; the exploration and anatomy of the legend of the Ren-

[4] George Sarton, 'Science in the Renaissance', in *The Civilization of the Renaissance*, by James Westfall Thompson and others (Chicago, 1929). (The Mary Tuttle Borden Lectures at Mount Holyoke College.)

aissance as a social and cultural myth. We need to know who created it, what it is, what it has been, what use it has, and, in particular, the areas in which it operates influentially, e.g., nineteenth-century poetry, painting, architecture, etc., and in general what it has signified for the non-historian over the last three centuries. If we knew the emotional background of the myth better, we could evaluate more effectively the reasons why some are not moved by it, and why the period fares so badly at the hands of those untouched by nineteenth-century *l'art pour l'art* which explains at least some of Burckhardt, while influenced by the positivism in which Sarton grew up. I think we would also see that the Renaissance was not a scientific thing, that its trend was in general away from the coöperative and cumulative activities that science builds with, that much of its individualism was subjective and not empirical, and that it was concerned with the production of finalities rather than with hypotheses to be tested and perhaps rejected; that the Renaissance was indeed, as Herbert Butterfield is reported to have said, 'one of the most typically medieval things that the Middle Ages ever produced'.[5] There is nothing very open-minded about Henry VIII beheading More, Calvin burning Servetus, or Diego de Landa burning the unique and irreplaceable manuscripts of Mayan history and religion; nor is the characteristic art of the period experimental and tentative as we understand those words after three hundred years of seeking an exit from the tradition of classicism.

It may be appropriate to suggest that the time has come to pass beyond both viewpoints and to recognize that both outlooks, aesthetic and positivist, are now historical themselves, worthy of study for what they tell us about Burckhardt and Sarton, Thorndike and Panofsky, rather than as final doctrines concerning the Renaissance. The outlook of scholarship has changed; in the interests of discrimination it was once desirable to assert the unique nature of the Renaissance. to attempt to prove that such a moment in history could be found and identified; people have done the same more recently with the baroque, mannerism, preromanticism, and other terms. We know now that such words are valid in a context, that whatever 'Renaissance' may mean, it does not refer to a cause of anything, that it describes things that went on in the *quattrocento* or the *cinquecento*, and that we can use the word as a means of communication as long as we do not abuse it. There is no need

[5] Quoted by Jean Lindsay in the introduction to *A Short History of Science, Origins and Results of the Scientific Revolution*, Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959, p. xi.

to defend the word when the concept is not necessary; one can study the sixteenth century and never use the term, just as one can talk about seventeenth-century France, even its literature, without use of the concept classicism, and in neither case feel very much impoverished. On the other hand, it is possible to spin a lot of cobwebs with such words, hardly strong enough to walk about on, yet certainly thick enough to obscure the facts which lie behind them. This is why I think it may be useful to discuss writers who talk about our period, even if they do not speak our particular language or think much of our sacred cows.

The length of this introduction may suggest some of the difficulties I have felt in entering on this field. In his preface to the *Codex Huygens* in 1940, Panofsky describes the history of art-theory as a 'border-line district between the history of art, the history of philosophical thought, and the history of natural science'. He proceeds to describe it as a playground where nobody is at home, but where every one has instructive experiences, which means that the literature is not professional but 'esoteric and slightly amateurish', and scanty in volume. There is a relevancy in these comments; especially if one tries to think constructively about what has been written in our field in these twenty years. Since Sarton created a somewhat stunned silence at Mount Holyoke in 1929 by remarks that, one could say, might have been written by Thorndike, historians of Renaissance science have had some reason to feel that this is a risky area in which to venture a reputation. I might suggest here that the most penetrating work on the general history of science in this period has come from those who have seen no need to be embarrassed if they agreed with Sarton; from those in short who can speak with informed authority about science, who hold no brief for the Renaissance, but who know enough about the period, its antecedents and its sequel, to be able to tell us fairly well where our period stands in the general history of western and world-wide culture.

The issue between the Renaissance specialist and the general historian turns usually on the semantic problem, what exactly is meant by science? We have a tendency to twist the term in a sense which suits us. For the scientist, if a statement is not mathematical, exact, impersonal, objective, capable of producing identical meanings in all hearers, referring to cumulative and repeatable effects, it is not scientific. For him, interesting, disconnected statements about the world in general, inexact, subjective, asking the use of intuition, special insights, do not count as

science, even if they are impressive and present exciting interpretations of phenomena.

A paper which suggests thoughts along this line was presented by Erwin Panofsky at a symposium sponsored by the Metropolitan Museum in 1952.[6] Reading it, one suspects that those who heard it and saw the accompanying slides must have felt that this was very close to the last and best word on Renaissance science, aimed very close to that impossible objective. Professor Panofsky was shooting, I think, but his target was perhaps human; Sarton was in the audience, although I think that probably Thorndike was not.

The speaker began by claiming that there is an objective reference in historical time for the word 'Renaissance' on the basis of architectural evidence; the years from 1300 to 1600 show deliberate innovations in building, in which science and art advance radically together, on parallel lines. The essential structures of art and science in the period were already so different from medieval standards and from ours that we must refrain from evaluating them as separate fields of endeavor; science, he said, should be given some credit for results in the fine arts, and some of the arts credit for their contribution to science. The Renaissance was an age of decompartmentalization; breaking medieval barriers of order and separateness, it produced at least mixture and interpenetration, and perhaps synthesis and chaos as well. The background for these remarks may be found in Panofsky's own *Albrecht Dürer*,[7] in a chapter on Dürer as a theorist of art; he notices that Aquinas finds a painter painting according to other work he has seen, while in the Renaissance nature herself determines what will be depicted, for art is an imitation of natural objects. This leads to the thesis that the artist is the first true natural scientist, and Dürer gives us, as he says, the 'birth of German scientific prose'. The whole chapter is an important and unusual contribution to the literature on the scientific attitude of the Renaissance, whose only disadvantage is that its propositions hardly make sense in the light of what scientists regard as science.

The contribution to the Metropolitan symposium was of course illustrated; one slide conveyed objective information about natural objects along with the customary trappings, mythology and physical reality in a single symbolic perspective; an accepted astronomical theory offered a pattern in which classical divinities strike dramatic poses in the fore-

[6] *The Renaissance, a Symposium* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953).

[7] Princeton, 1943

ground. In other illustrations, Panofsky went back to review the systematic exploration of nature by Brunelleschi, Alberti, Piero della Francesca, and Leonardo, who link practice and theory, who do not reject mathematical principles and explanations.

This trend he describes as breaking the barrier between manual and intellectual work, so that 'the greatest advances . . . were made by engineers, sea captains, instrument makers, and artists, rather than professors'. Fracastoro, Pirckheimer, Dürer, Leonardo, all contribute to the tangibilization of science, and thus complement the intellectualization of the mechanical professions. This parallels the rise of the descriptive sciences, which in turn depend more and more on representational techniques, which gave notable service in transmitting a sense of shape, 'for authors cannot give actual information by interminable, dull, confused writing'. I must abridge his argument, but he goes on to claim that 'in the history of modern science the invention of perspective, coupled with the nearly simultaneous emergence of the multiplying arts, marks the beginning of a first period; the invention of the telescope and the microscope that of a second; and the invention of photography that of a third'. 'Illustration is the statement itself', he concludes, and he proceeds to show that observation is lost when it is not put in an image.

Perhaps the lesson derived from all this deserves comment. The momentary association of artists and scientists, Marc Antonio della Torre with Leonardo, Vesalius with Calcar, suggests the sociological changes of the age, the development of a wealthy and intellectual élite, the secularization of the schools, the rise of the private academies, the decline of the guilds, the rising prestige of the inventor, the engineer, and the artist. The creature has learned to create; *divine* is now applied to earthly things and earthly men and women, and if all had gone well, there would have been no break between the arts and the sciences. But Panofsky finds that what was here and what was beyond could not be reconciled; mathematics set a course which the arts could not follow, and barriers between idealist and naturalist arose, creating a frontier that communication could not bridge. From the seventeenth century on, the arts and science go their separate ways.

Once the spell of plunging analogies and vivid images has evaporated a little, it is possible to see what will not do in this version of the history of science. Science is an intellectual construct, not a series of clear and independent statements made by draftsman or photographer; printing, engraving, aided by microscope or telescope, even in color or in motion,

are aids to scientists, but they cannot replace his brains and his capacity to put findings in an intelligible structure. Even Panofsky is not content to show pictures without discourse; what he says adds to what he shows, and indeed could make sense without any pictures at all. The mark of a good theory is its capacity to explain what has happened, and I think every reader and hearer must have been a little uncomfortable with the conclusion which he finally reached. There must have been some more satisfactory reason why science and the fine arts went in separate directions after 1600. One might be that after learning to create diagrams and depict objects accurately and in perspective, the scientists discovered that their interest was not in the diagram, the visual statement, but in what could be done with it, how it could be used, improved on, not artistically, but as a tool in the quite special enterprise that is science. Panofsky's question of which content is here and which is 'beyond' is irrelevant and in a sense silly; the scientist is not interested in the particular present object except as it leads him to knowledge of the class or classes of objects of which the individual is a member. He does not, *qua* scientist, stand still to admire the object without reference to larger issues which the characteristics of the object reveal. From what a scientist has to say about an object, it is possible to undertake some classification and interpretation on one's own, with a sense of security in the result. The intuitive perception, even if realistically exact, is unpredictable and inimitable; it may be exciting and reveal a vision, but there is no guarantee that it can become a usable element in systematic knowledge. If these comments apply, they may suggest why science and the arts parted company, as well as why such a paper as the one we have described is not in the long run very helpful to the historian of science. The history of science can be illustrated, but it cannot be told in picture-book form.

This is said in spite of the 2962 or more illustrations which may be found in the recently completed five-volume *History of Technology* edited by Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, and Trevor I. Williams,[8] in which it is difficult to find much reference to the Renaissance, although the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries occupy space in the appropriate chapters. In this British work there is really very little periodization, and practically no conceptual treatment at all. The sacred word *quattrocento* never occurs; the words 'humanist', 'humanities', and 'humanism' are never capitalized. Those who feel lost without Machiavelli

[8] Oxford University Press, 1954–1958.

and Ariosto, Savonarola and Adrian VI, Marot and Montaigne, friendly landmarks of a well-known world, may well be dismayed by these massive volumes. Yet their *selva oscura* is not so forbidding that one cannot enjoy the thirty or more well-selected plates at the end of each volume, and the hundreds of line drawings and cuts that illuminate the text. For our purposes, the epilogues to volumes II and III, by Singer and Hall respectively, lucidly sum up the main points of technological history to the end of the seventeenth century, putting the sequence of contributions in an historical perspective which, for this reader at least, seems fresh and penetrating, quite indispensable, in fact. The summarizing of such wide-ranging volumes is not easy; the chapters range from mining and metallurgy, agriculture and textiles, to the calendar, precision instruments, alchemical equipment, the art of printing, and clocks; each chapter is by a specialist in the particular topic, and the whole has been carefully edited to maintain a balance and avoid repetition. A history of the useful arts asks for constant recognition of the human context, and the authors of the various chapters have treated *homo faber* with an understanding of *homo sapiens* as well. There is throughout a relating of cunning and perception to the larger vision of science and philosophic insight. Historical archaeology is given us in a full cultural perspective.

From these books, then, we may expect some view of where the Renaissance stands among historians of science and technology. In his epilogue to volume II, Dr. Singer points out that the record shows that Greek and Roman technology was not superior to that of the ancient empires they overthrew, that 'the curve of technological expertness tends to dip rather than to rise with the advent of the classical cultures', which advent indeed appears rather as the work of heroic and barbarian victors over effete but highly civilized orientals. He adds that, up to about 1300 A.D., northwestern Europe (in the early twentieth century technologically the most developed part of the Afrasian land mass) was greatly inferior to the near east, which in turn was far behind the far east in the arts and crafts. From about 70 B.C. to A.D. 1500 eastern cultures were at their height, contributing technological ideas to the west, sometimes directly, sometimes *via* Byzantium, long the wealthiest and most civilized Christian state, and sometimes *via* Islam. Fabrics, textiles, mosaics, silks, ivories, ceramics, glass and metal work came from the east, of a quality that the west could hardly rival; from Islam came science: alchemy, astrology, mathematics; many substances, drugs, dyes, instruments of precision, products of industrial chemistry, techniques of building, as well as foods and agricultural practices. From the same

quarter came methods in transport, mining, and strategy; arms and armor, gunpowder, paper and printing, canal locks, rudders, rigging, and the mariner's compass.

Thus in the wide area represented by the history of technology it appears that certain perspectives more or less hallowed by tradition will have to be redrawn. The long history of the arts and crafts, the *métiers*, of the west has really been a tale of continual assimilation of devices and procedures from many sources rather than of a sudden burst of creativeness confined to two centuries or so after 1400. The movement of pilgrims, traders, colonists, embassies, refugees, and crusaders was the chief means of diffusion; they brought the products of eastern skills, and there is clear evidence that the artisans of the west were induced to imitate the east. When intercourse was interrupted in the fifteenth century, the traces of the east were not obliterated, and in some ways the influence continued, though by this time western artisans had absorbed a large part of the basic techniques. From the late sixteenth century on, increasingly as scientific influence on industry grows, the flow of ideas and skills begins to be reversed; and it is the considered view of the editors and authors of this *History* that the influence of science on technology is towards mass production, the cumulation of skills in larger and larger industries and trades in the hands of less imaginative and less perceptive workers.

The east had had a high level of technology without science; a long slow development through millennia had produced astonishing results, results which in some ways have not been, perhaps cannot be, equaled. In the west, a scientific outlook has produced a technology which depends far less on the intuitive artistry of a single highly gifted individual than on the use of precise measurements and calculations embodied in delicate and sometimes elaborate machinery, itself the product of machines and specialized tools. The operator of a machine may be capable of creative activity, of artistry; most often he is trained to work to patterns and templates which can be copied without understanding. One might suggest parenthetically that a typical example of the sixteenth-century worker who has neither a developed science nor a craft tradition to support his work is perhaps Bernard Palissy, as he tries to make a glaze to equal that of Italian majolica. He works by trial and error, without isolating his materials, with no measured knowledge of heat and its effects, plunging through hundreds of trials without rime or reason, by sheer persistence getting results which may or may not be the true equivalent of what he sought. He marks the discontinuity that

Singer refers to, I think; there is no sense in which this adventure with materials and methods can be called a 'renaissance'. Indeed it raises the question of whether, in this whole area of activity, the word is not wrongly applied.

It will be apparent that for Charles Singer neither the period nor the concept we call the Renaissance has any real meaning. His catalogue of achievements attained by 1500 lists very little that is fundamentally new, the product of the cherished *quattrocento*; civilization as he describes it has adapted the skills of the east to the conditions of western Europe, giving posterity the illusion of a sudden rapid change, an illusion which is reinforced by economic and political developments. Mills and mining, carpenter's tools, deep plowing, harness and rigging, the making of steel and soaps, alum, alcohol, pigments, and nitre have slowly revolutionized the way of western life, with no great influence on its thought or aesthetic perceptions. The old culture has become stable, a comfortable, steady frame in which to live, and for about three centuries, down to the opening of the Industrial Revolution, there are no striking changes.

The great field in which advance takes place is of course the scientific, and here we are dealing with intellectual revolution rather than with cultural change. It cannot be said to begin much before the very end of the sixteenth century, and it dates properly from the seventeenth, which sees the work of Galileo, Descartes, Harvey, and all the galaxy of genius that great age contained. Singer's epilogue is only one chapter among many which regard the age of the Renaissance as an age of uneasy expectancy rather than of great and definitive achievement. From his point of view, which may inspire and is certainly justified by the volume as a whole, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries form a period of relative stagnation, not very creative, more repetitive and devoted to summarizing of the past, encyclopedic towards the present, than pointing the way towards the future. One might see perhaps a new self-conscious attitude in the artisans; as they learned to read and write, booklets by and for them were beginning to circulate, products of other artisans in the printing houses. R. J. Forbes in a chapter on metallurgy cites a number of early handbooks of the kind I mean: *Kriegsbücher*, *Rüstungsbücher*, *Bergbüchlein*, *Probierbüchlein*, of the years 1480–1550, are new as phenomena if not for their content, much of which is traditional craftsman's lore. They may be responsible for some of the work of Agricola, even of Biringuccio, Piccolpasso, Stradanus, and Ramelli, who have left us more elaborate accounts of the technology of the age. They promote the progress of the arts in a way that could not have been done

before the invention of printing from movable type and the free use of woodcut illustrations. In these books the compiler of other men's inventions looks as proudly at the world as does Vesalius in the frontispiece of his *Fabrica*. But for all that, they are textbooks, pastiches of science and primers of skills, in no sense heralds of a new world.

The new society of the west produced and used goods that could not compete with those of the east in technical skill and quality. Its advantage lay in massive production, because the product in which art and technical skill are inseparable is always less sought after and less actively produced than the satisfaction of elementary needs, such as food in quantity, cheap clothes, cheap weapons, explosives, produced with the aid of pumps, conveyers, grinders, powered by water or wind. The presence of the inventor or designer is no longer necessary to the building of a ship or a palace or a church, or the manufacture of cannon; unskilled labor under a trained foreman works to greater tolerances, variations and slight defects in skill and material being allowed for and even expected in the product.

The upshot of the movement is a gradual destruction of the class structure in its distinctive marks. When all men lived by the product of the hand of the artisan, the rich commanded the best, the poor made do with what they could make themselves. Mud floors and fine tiles, tapestries and drugget, batten doors and fine paneling, crude pots and fine china, all handmade, were available according to the status, social or financial, of the individual user, which seems to have varied enormously. By 1700, industry was bringing quantity to all, an improvement of the worst, a deterioration of the best, and there were fewer skills in the general mass of people. There were more books, but very few were as handsome as the best of the product of the early sixteenth century. Socially, the ingenious, the industrious, the skilled technician is rewarded; his work is appreciated for its efficiency, its productiveness, not for its symbolic or aesthetic values. Learning and science begin to be available to all in institutions and books, literacy is increasing, and in the long run, even in the universities, one finds the new mood, the view 'that the impossible will surrender to the patient, systematic assault of natural science'.

I cannot find the phrase 'scientific revolution' before Koyré's use of it at the beginning of an article in 1943.[9] The term was defined and

[9] A. Koyré, 'Galileo and Plato', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IV (1943), p. 400. Reprinted in Wiener and Noland, *Roots of Scientific Thought* (New York, 1957), pp. 147 ff.

given general circulation by repeated use in Herbert Butterfield's modest but seminal volume of 1949, *The Origins of Modern Science*,[10] which led in due course to A. R. Hall's more technical but hardly more important book, *The Scientific Revolution, 1500–1800; the Formation of the Modern Scientific Attitude*.[11] Since then the term has been accepted in the literature, with general agreement on its meaning and application. Professor Butterfield has said that he had not realized the term was so new, that he had thought it apt, really a cliché. Yet I am fairly sure the word is new since Johnson and Larkey put their review of the literature together twenty years ago.

The Renaissance falls squarely within the period studied by Butterfield and Hall, and from them we may perhaps see clearly how the historian of science today rates the activities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in comparison with what had happened before and what has happened since. Counting pages, one finds less space devoted to the years before 1600 than to those which follow; it may be essential to know what went on before and during the sixteenth century, but it is clear that, to these historians at least, the Renaissance is not so central, that it offers no real crisis or turning point in the development of science.

Professor Butterfield's book is based on lectures he was asked to give at Cambridge University, and its manner is that of spoken discourse. Roughly chronological in form, its twelve chapters discuss the main developments, with more emphasis on the general intellectual implications of its subject matter than can be found in either Sarton or Thorndike, science being deeply woven into the social and political outlook of the centuries that have followed Newton. Butterfield knows that the history of science is not directly important to the advancement of modern science, and suggests that if the subject is worthy of study at all, it must not be in an antiquarian spirit, but tested by being placed in close relationship to other major aspects of human history, intellectual and otherwise.

The real point of Butterfield's work, then, lies in the pages in which he traces the influence of science in modern thought and evaluates the period of his special interest, not from the strictly occidental viewpoint that characterizes Crane Brinton's *Shaping of the Modern Mind*,[12] but from a height that allows him to survey what Leopold von Ranke called the 'ocean of history'. Here we may find evaluations which may

[10] London, 1949.

[11] London, 1954.

[12] Partial reprint of *Ideas and Men, the Story of Western Thought* (New York, 1950).

be sobering to students of the Renaissance, who will discover that since the scientific revolution 'overturned the authority in science not only of the middle ages but of the ancient world—since it ended not only in the eclipse of scholastic philosophy but in the destruction of Aristotelian physics—it outshines everything since the rise of Christianity and reduces the Renaissance and Reformation to the rank of mere episodes, mere internal displacements, within the system of medieval Christendom.' Changing the character of our mental operations, transforming the diagram of the universe and the texture of human life, he says, 'it looms so large as the real origin both of the modern world and of the modern mentality that our customary periodisation of European history has become an anachronism and an encumbrance.'[13]

This is not, of course, so much a devaluation of the Renaissance as it is a reconsideration of the bases on which the general intellectual history of Europe and the modern world should be based. There is no medievalist animus in it; it is a sober view, repeated, emphasized, and slightly elaborated in the Horblit lecture which Butterfield gave at Harvard in March 1959. It would not be fair to leave these views naked and unsupported without at least a glimpse at their background in his wide reading in the monographs and other literature.

We may turn to his handling of one of the key figures in sixteenth-century science and begin with Copernicus. The criterion we are asked to accept for recognizing the scientific revolution is the discovery of 'transpositions in the minds of scientists themselves', radical restatements of the basic problems, leading to a reversal of an earlier view, to the acceptance of an outlook which makes the previous analysis useless and absurd. 'The teaching of Copernicus', he writes, 'is entangled . . . with concepts of value, teleological explanations and forms of what we should call animism. He closes an epoch much more clearly than he opens any new one. He is himself one of those individual makers of world-systems, like Aristotle and Ptolemy, who astonish us by the power which they showed in producing a synthesis so mythical—and so irrelevant to the present day—that we should regard their work almost as a matter for aesthetic judgment alone. Once we have discovered the real character of Copernican thinking, we can hardly help recognising the fact that the genuine scientific revolution was still to come.'[14]

This view that the scientific revolution must be recognized in its fulfilment and not in what were only primitive gropings appears even

[13] These quotations are taken from Butterfield, *Origins*, ed. 1951, p. viii.

[14] Butterfield, p. 26.

more clearly in his chapter on the study of the heart down to Harvey. After discussing Vesalius, the Galenic tradition, Fabricius, and Cesalpino, and considering the vitally important rôle of the University of Padua, he is able to emphasize how fresh Harvey's new view of circulation really was, how it describes for the first time 'what [the blood] carries, why, how and where it takes up its loads, how, where and why it parts with them'. Thus he can add that, in respect to methods and results, 'we seem to have touched something like the genuine scientific revolution at last'.[15]

A chapter on the culmination of the story in the 'synthesis of astronomy and mechanics . . . achieved in the system of Sir Isaac Newton', an epoch which is 'one of the great moments in the history of human experience . . . when . . . men acquired new habits of mind, new methods of enquiry— . . . founded modern science',[16] introduces an account of the direct consequences in the philosophical eighteenth century, when science becomes a career, a social success, a matter for public lectures and politically interesting, evident in the vast popularizing literature of the time.

In this general perspective we may understand and allow a measure of justification to what Butterfield has to say about the Renaissance and its cultural heroes in the scientific disciplines. He does not find that the Renaissance brought essentially new ingredients to our civilization, nor that there were in it intellectual changes of a nature to transform our society. These things come later, in the seventeenth century, ingredients which neither the ancient world nor Byzantium could have achieved, but which in the long run end the domination of the west by the civilizations of the Mediterranean basin. Among these he lists the colossal secularization of thought, not perhaps particularly a product of science, but a reaction to tensions which leads to the reduction of the churches to the level of parties within the state; after this comes the view of Europe as a fragment of a large and newly discovered world, in which many local creeds embody truths which lead to the understanding of larger plans and systems, and to the acceptance of deism in many circles; and finally the methodical skepticism generally practised, the fruitful basis on which science could be built. These things, which the seventeenth century possessed much more clearly than the sixteenth, combined to carry the domain of science into all fields of thought and spec-

[15] Butterfield, p. 41.
[16] Butterfield, p. 122.

ulation, creating a new factor in history, a force which in the long run will disturb most seriously the generally accepted periodization of the historians. The dissolution of old forms of society, the gradual reduction of the rôle of the Greek and Roman heritage, and indeed of Christianity itself, leads Butterfield to see 'emerging towards the end of the seventeenth century . . . a civilization exhilaratingly new perhaps, but strange as Nineveh and Babylon'. 'That is why', he concludes, 'since the rise of Christianity, there is no landmark in history that is worthy to be compared with this.'[17]

The more closely the historians examine our period, the more shadowy does the concept of Renaissance become. The trends of the century are not in one direction, the developments are not parallel. There was a revival of the classics, not the first nor yet the last; there was also significant interest in the languages of the near east, perhaps rising from the contributions of that area in science and the arts. There was a new realism in the arts and literature, and there was a new freedom and a new symbolism. There was a continued development of music, apparently both in theory and practice. The three old stand-bys of high school history, explosives, the compass, and the printing press, were new, but only to Europe, where a new technology of metals made them useful on a continental scale. Anatomy, astronomy, mechanics, physics, mathematics, all advanced, in different ways and for different reasons. Some of these developments stem from spiritual or intellectual causes; many are due to the attaining of temporary solutions of long-felt problems in the arts and crafts. Much is due to the temper and mood of the western artisan, less humanist, less addicted to philology and purely intellectual pursuits, more given to materialist bourgeois enterprise, than we have formerly been told. The question remains, does the acceleration in ideas and speculation for which the invention of printing is largely responsible show any general pattern, or enough common causes and effects, for us to insist, as the philologists and historians of art ask us to, that the whole period be set apart and called the Renaissance?

Current interpretations stemming from the history of science and technology seem to answer 'no'. In very many lines of development, in most of the useful arts, in science, in related areas of philosophy, and, I am told, in religious thought and piety, these centuries do not show the kind of change of pace or direction that can really justify their de-

[17] Butterfield, p. 149.

scription as a unique period in history, nor do what changes took place derive from any single source or inspiration. The middle ages, once unduly maligned by positivistic scientists, are now allowed to inspire Copernicus and even, in part, Kepler; their larger trends do not end with 1453 or 1492, but with Galileo, Harvey, Descartes, and Isaac Newton, the founders of the scientific revolution.

Thus one is led to agree with Butterfield that the advent of the new outlook of the history of science and technology will have revolutionary effects among historians, and that the impact of the recognition of the influence of science and technology on history will eventually displace our customary periodizations and cause a revision of traditional evaluations. History, like any other discipline, is the product of historians; its categories remain fluid as new outlooks and emphases produce new evaluations. If an earlier generation of positivist historians has been emphatic in its stress on the Renaissance, on three great men, Leonardo, Copernicus, and Vesalius, it was because of defective understanding of the history of science and a failure to know the dangers inherent in devices planned for didactic expediency. As the work of, for instance, Pierre Duhem has progressed and been absorbed, the perspective has changed, and much of sixteenth-century science has lost its glamor.

I conclude that Sarton may have been right in all but his manners in 1929. He was only repeating what had been said a year before by Charles Singer,[18] and he was saying what was to be a commonplace in 1959. It is as necessary to indicate the great creative moments in history, the epochs of revolutionary change, as to exercise George Sarton's other function, that of the encyclopedist who must record the totality of the events of history. He loved, as he said repeatedly, Leonardo da Vinci, and he could not do enough to praise him for what he was, a man of science, a genius, even if he does not represent a movement in sixteenth-century science or contribute to the great changes of the seventeenth century. But Sarton never, to my knowledge, withdrew his fundamental view that the so-called Renaissance was an episode between two creative ages, a period of preparation for the truly great seventeenth century, the age in which the modern world began to take its scientific shape and character, for better or for worse.

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[18] In 'Historical Relations of Religion and Science', in *Science, Religion, and Reality*, ed. Joseph Needham (New York, 1928); see especially pp. 121 and 123.

Three Interpretations of the French Renaissance[1]

WHATEVER chronological limits be determined for the French Renaissance, its history, scholarship, and literature are at least characterized by a clearly discernible attitude which distinguishes them from the work of preceding centuries. This atmosphere is perhaps best expressed by Rabelais in the letter from Gargantua to Pantagruel. Gargantua writes: 'Maintenant toutes disciplines sont restituées, les langues instaurées . . .'.[2] He claims with enthusiasm that 'Tout le monde est plein de gens savants, de precepteurs très doctes . . . . Je voy les brigans, les boureaulx, les avanturiers, les palefreniers de maintenant plus doctes que les docteurs et prescheurs de mon temps',[3] and concludes: 'Somme que je voy un abysme de science.'[4]

This attitude contrasts vividly with Gargantua's opening reference to his own youth when 'Le temps estoit encores tenebreux et sentant l'infelicité et la calamité des Gothz, qui avoient mis à destruction toute bonne literature',[5] and has been considered a criterion for the recognition of this period, whether we uphold the primacy of the concepts Renaissance, humanism, or Reformation, or whether we dispute the

[1] This paper was read, in a modified version, to the Columbia University Seminar on the Renaissance. Its particular orientation is the result of a reconsideration of French Renaissance theory from the perspective of a previous article ('On Change in Literature', *Jour. of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* XVIII, 1959, pp. 330–342) in which I seek to determine the limits within which objective characterization of a 'period' in literature may be possible. It is not my intention to attempt the absurd, to rival the already great number of Renaissance bibliographies (in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, *PMLA*, *Studi Francesi*, *Studies in Philology*, etc.). I must mention, however, one of the most complete studies of the Renaissance problem, Wallace K. Ferguson's *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (New York, 1948). Its exact historical study and selective but thorough bibliography provide a valuable guide for all future Renaissance studies.

[2] *Oeuvres*, ed. Abel Lefranc (Paris, 1922), III, 103.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 103–104.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 102. Cf. Eugenio Garin, *L'educazione in Europa (1400–1600)* (Bari, 1957), especially pp. 71–85.

significance of Italy's contribution.[6] Since, however, the contemporaries for obvious reasons are often thought to lack the detachment necessary to view their period objectively, subsequent observation and scholarship have resulted in three essentially different perspectives.

The first perspective originated during the Renaissance itself. It emphasizes the assumed contrast between the middle ages and the Renaissance, between the 'dark ages' and the 'enlightened' modern era. The concept, stressing the element of rupture with the past, has become the *traditional* interpretation. Jules Michelet, France's most famous defender of this position, synthesizes its *leitmotif* in the contention that 'La révolution du XVIe siècle, arrivée plus de cent ans après le décès de la philosophie d'alors, rencontra une mort incroyable, un néant, et partit de rien.'[7] Generally ignoring the significant contributions of medieval man to the Renaissance and emphasizing the cultural differences between France and Italy, Michelet concludes: 'Il ne fallait pas moins que cette absurdité [of the sudden encounter of two different civilizations], ce violent miracle contre la nature et la vraisemblance pour enlever l'esprit humain hors du vieux sillon scolastique, hors des voies raisonneuses, stériles et plates, et le lancer sur des ailes nouvelles dans la haute sphère de la raison.'[8]

Wallace K. Ferguson, upon evaluation of pertinent material, concludes that the men of the Renaissance themselves were responsible for viewing their time as a 'period of rebirth after centuries of medieval darkness'.[9] Attributing their attitudes to the contemporaries' natural lack of historical perspective when attempting an evaluation of their own period, Professor Ferguson shows them responsible for the perpetuation of this 'fallacy' through to the nineteenth century.

[6] Recent support of this position may be found in Herbert Weisinger's articles, e.g., 'The Self-awareness of the Renaissance as a Criterion of the Renaissance', *Papers of the Michigan Acad. of Science, Arts, and Letters* XXIX (1943), 561–567, and Verdun L. Saulnier's preface to the French translation of W. K. Ferguson's book (n. 1) published at Paris, 1950. Prof. Saulnier, for example, writes (p. xi): 'La nouveauté est dans l'accent'.

[7] *La Renaissance*, vol. IX of his *Histoire de France* (new rev. and augmented ed., Paris, 1879), p. 15. For more recent evaluations of the Italian Renaissance see, among others, the 'debate' by H. Baron, E. Cassirer, D. Durand, F. R. Johnson, P. O. Kristeller, D. P. Lockwood, and L. Thorndike in the *Jour. of the History of Ideas* IV (1943), 1–74; also E. Panofsky, 'Renaissance and Renascences', *Kenyon Rev.* VI (1944), 201–236.

[8] P. 175.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 1. Cf. Franco Simone, *La coscienza della Rinascita negli umanisti francesi* (Rome, 1949), ch. II, and 'Per una nuova valutazione del quattrocento francese', *Studi Francesi* I (1957), 5–25, for an analysis of this and other perspectives of Renaissance historicism. Prof. Simone concludes on the need for reconciliation of the 'Italian' and the 'continuity' orientations.

Scholarship, spearheaded by the work of Charles H. Haskins, Johan Huizinga, and others,[10] has brought about a reconsideration, a revision of the contributions of the middle ages and culminated in the emphasis on *continuity*, with the Italian Renaissance emerging as an important but secondary contributing factor to the French Renaissance. An extreme view of this school of thought is Jacques Boulenger's, who insists: 'La *renaissance* ne commence nullement au XV^e^ siècle et son aspect proprement italien n'est que l'un de ses aspects tardifs: elle débute au XII^e^ siècle à peu près. Bref, il n'y a pas de moyen âge des lettres et des arts: il n'y a eu qu'une renaissance; diversement jalonnée, elle commence en l'an 1100 ou environ.'[11]

The third perspective generally grants the significance of the fundamental arguments of the traditionalists as well as those of the upholders of continuity. It inclines, however, to avoid the extreme of either position; for example, Franco Simone stresses the change of 'les tendances spirituelles'.[12] It might be called the school of *conciliation*.

The relative validity of these three theories must be considered if we are to understand the intellectual and social milieu of the literature of the period.

A. THE TRADITIONALISTS

I. The word 'Renaissance'

In support of the traditionalists appears to be the very origin of the word 'Renaissance'.[13] Franco Simone's studies of French humanism re-

[10] See, among others, Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: a Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, tr. F. Hopman (London, 1924), D. Murăraşu, *La Poésie néo-latine et la renaissance des lettres antiques en France (1500–1549)* (2d ed., Paris, 1928), Johan Nordstroem, *Moyen âge et Renaissance*, tr. Fr. Hammar (Paris, 1933).

[11] 'Le vrai siècle de la Renaissance', *Humanisme et Renaissance* I (1934), p. 9. Cf. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, M. Françon, *Leçons et notes* (Paris, 1957), pp. 112 f., and W. L. Wiley, 'The French Renaissance Gallicized: an Emphasis on National Tradition', *Stud. in Philology* XXXIV (1937), 248–258.

[12] 'Le Moyen-âge, la Renaissance et la critique moderne', *Revue de Littérature Comparée* XVIII (1938), 427, and *La coscienza* (cited in n. 9), ch. IV.

[13] Konrad Burdach, a revisionist, thought to trace the concept back to the middle ages and the idea of rebirth in God in *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus* (2d rev. ed., Berlin-Leipzig, 1926). Prof. Kristeller, however, in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1956), p. 554, cites a secular example of 1330 and challenges Burdach's attempt to derive the general Renaissance concept from specific religious sources *via* Cola di Rienzo. Among other scholars concerned with tracing the origin and meaning of the word were J. Huizinga, 'Le Problème de la Renaissance', *Revue des Cours et Conférences*

veal that 'Furono gli umanisti, infatti, che adattarono per primi ad un significato letterario una immagine che fino alloro era stata usata per esprimere idée religiose e furono ancora essi che la trasmisero, talvolta persino traducendola in volgare, agli scrittori della Rinascenza.'[14] Petrarch subsequently became the focal point of terrestrial admiration and was credited by most humanists with initiating the revival of letters and learning. Professor Simone's examples from the work of Italian and French humanists are convincing by their number and the directness of expressed indebtedness. He cites Boccaccio, Nicolas de Clémenges, Lorenzo Valla, Guillaume Tardif, Erasmus, Rabelais, among others, crediting Valla particularly with directing effective propaganda to the second generation of French humanists, to Guillaume Fichet, Robert Gaguin, and their disciples. Valla's advocacy of 'il concetto del ritorno della supremazia della lingua latina [a primary concern of the first generation of French humanists], era non solo di facile divulgazione, ma di perfetto gradimento come quello che sintetizzava in quei teologi più raffinati dei loro colleghi, i nuovi gusti estetici e le rinate tendenze letterarie.' He thereby avoided the purely Italian theme of the 'ritorno della spiritualità romana'[15] which would certainly have displeased the increasingly nationalistic French who later were to credit persons other than Petrarch, usually the king or the maecenas, with the restoration of letters.[16]

It appears, therefore, that a new Italian *concept*, perhaps originally employed with a universal religious meaning, crossed the frontier during the fifteenth century through the aid of the more cosmopolitan humanists who used it to express an idea in France similar to its *new* use in Italy. The transmission of this word might indeed have involved more than the idea of revival of learning, for, in the opinion of Johan Nordstroem, it 'sanctionne l'idée que les Italiens de cette époque eux-mêmes se faisaient de la valeur et de la portée de leur civilisation; cette

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30 Dec. 1939; E. Langevin, 'Sur le mot *Renaissance*', in R. Morçay, *La Renaissance* (Paris, 1933, *Histoire de la littérature française*, ed. J. Calvet, II–III), I, 497 f.; A. Lefranc, 'Diverses définitions de la Renaissance', *Revue des Cours et Conférences* XVIII (1910), 490 f.; J. Plattard, 'Restitution des bonnes lettres et Renaissance', *Mélanges Lanson* (Paris, 1922); L. Thorndike, 'Renaissance or Prenaissance?' *Jour. of the History of Ideas* IV (1943), 65–74.

[14] 'La coscienza della Rinascita negli umanisti', *Rinascita* II (1939), p. 839; cf. also his 'La coscienza storico del Rinascimento francese e il suo significato culturale', *Convivium* (1954), 156–170, and note 9 above.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 852. Cf. also G. Toffanin, *Storia dell'umanesimo* (Naples, 1933), pp. 306–307.

[16] E.g., Plattard, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–131.

conception portait l'empreinte de l'attitude traditionellement supérieure —et souvent dédaigneuse—qu'affectaient les Italiens à l'égard des "barbares" vivant au-delà des Alpes.'[17] However, mere superiority of a culture or its propaganda alone may not be enough to persuade a country of the value of another's culture and to effect imitation. The will or the need to imitate must exist. And the men of the Italian Renaissance disposed of no twentieth-century propaganda devices. Their initial persuasive efforts influenced only the relatively small circle of French humanists, not the more powerful Sorbonne or the country at large.

II. The traditional interpretation

The traditional interpretation features three basic ideas succinctly summarized by Wallace K. Ferguson as follows: 'that the Renaissance began in Italy and later spread across the Alps, altering its character somewhat in each country it entered; that the revival of antiquity was everywhere a dominant factor; and, finally, that it marked the end of medieval civilization and the dawn of the modern age.'[18] This interpretation, whose history is fully developed in Professor Ferguson's book, has many renowned adherents, among them Jules Michelet, Pierre Imbart de La Tour, Gustave Lanson, Émile Faguet, Ferdinand Brunetière, Joel Spingarn, Arthur Tilley, Henri Chamard, and more recently Raoul Morçay.[19]

The central work of this school remains Jacob Burckhardt's *magnum opus* which credits Italy with lifting the medieval veil that obscured man's vision of himself and the world. 'In Italien zuerst', he wrote, 'verweht dieser Schleier in die Lüfte; es erwacht eine objektive Betrachtung und Behandlung des Staates und der sämmtlichen Dinge dieser Welt überhaupt; daneben aber erhebt sich mit voller Macht das Subjektive, der Mensch wird geistiges Individuum und erkennt sich als solches.'[20] He explains this metamorphosis as the result mainly of certain

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 253; cf. also pp. 258–262.

[19] See Ferguson, pp. 259–261 for bibliography and discussion.

[20] *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Basel, 1860), p. 131. Among the many scholars who share Burckhardt's view are Henri Hauser, *Les Débuts de l'âge moderne* (Paris, 1929), and Philippe Monnier, *Le Quattrocento, étude sur le XV^e siècle littéraire italien* (Paris, 1901). Cf. also Hans Baron, 'Renaissance in Italien. Literaturbericht', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* XVII (1927), 226–256, XXI (1931), 95–128, 215–239, 340–356; Delio Cantimori, 'Sulla storia del concetto di Rinascimento', *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Serie II, I (1932), 229–268; P. O. Kristeller, *op. cit.*; W. K. Ferguson, *op. cit.*

political and social circumstances: the disintegration of political unity, the rise of the tyrant with the resulting political indifference of the citizenry, the concurrent growth of individuality as a means of self-preservation, as well as the favorable geographic and economic conditions.

In view of the relative mediocrity of fifteenth-century French literature, the obvious superiority of Italian culture, and the Italian wars which greatly increased facilities for cultural exchange, these traditionalist critics, then, agree upon the Italian conquest of the French spirit and the resulting emergence of a new attitude towards life, nature, and man.

If they are in general accord about the historical facts and circumstances, the problem is the time and degree of 'conquest' and the reasons for French 'submission'. Thus Jules Michelet emphasizes the importance of contact with 'la France entière, une petite France complète, de toute province et de toute classe'.[21] Arthur Tilley seconds the view that the revival of Greek learning was the true starting point of the Renaissance since it alone introduced the textually correct knowledge of ancient philosophy, architecture, literature, and even the Bible.[22] Pierre Villey emphasizes the popularization of antiquity when he writes: 'A vrai dire, pour s'exprimer avec propriété, il ne faudrait pas parler de renaissance, mais de vulgarisation. . . . C'était moins la lettre qu'il fallait ressusciter que l'esprit, et voilà ce que l'Italie à fait excellement pour nous.'[23] And Raoul Morçay stresses the greater and logically more immediate social effect of the contact with Italy.[24]

Edouard Bourciez, rivaling Professor Morçay's eclecticism—an attitude justified in view of the multiple possibilities of influence—credits France's contact with classical antiquity and the new understanding directly derived from Italy with a major effect on the Renaissance of French literature. The sentiment of beauty, of truth, the true knowledge of the works derived from critical study of the texts, 'Tout ce qui avait manqué au moyen âge, à notre langue pour exprimer les idées générales, comme au latin barbare et baroque de l'École, on le trouvait dans la langue grecque; une douceur harmonieuse, une simplicité grave, une clarté également répandue, et que n'offusque aucun ombre.'[25] The re-

[21] *Op. cit.* (n. 7 above), pp. 174–175.
[22] *The Literature of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1885), p. 14.
[23] *Les Sources d'idées au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1912), p. 3.
[24] *Op. cit.* (n. 13 above), I, 30.
[25] *Les Mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II* (Paris, 1886), p. 139.

discovered ancients offered a multitude of ethical, moral, and secular considerations free from the medieval love of moralization which had accommodated them to a different *Weltanschauung*.[26]

This introduction, through Italy, of Greek and Latin texts resulted in the recognized loss of much originality during the initial stages of contact as well as in the emergence of a return to nature, of a cult of paganism. 'C'est plus qu'une altération savante des formes du christianisme', writes Bourciez, 'c'est un culte nouveau qui réapparaît, ce sont des symboles rajeunis qui tentent de reconquérir le monde.'[27] Greek poetry, he continues, was pagan, devoted to the divinization of nature. 'La renaissance antique ne pouvait être complète au XVIIe siècle chez nous, sans qu'on vit aussi se reproduire dans les esprits un idéal analogue de la beauté, et sans qu'on essayât de le traduire aux yeux.'[28] As modern Italian counterparts of Greek nature worship he cites the Roman Academy of Pomponius Laetus, the annual Romulus festivals, the predominance of Greek deities in the Medici collections, the example of Pope Leo X and his Ciceronian secretaries Sadolet and Bembo, as well as the mixture of paganism with Christianity in the poetry of Sannazaro and his contemporaries.[29]

Henri Chamard, an equally ardent defender of Italy's leadership in the Renaissance, adds to these possible influences the further element of 'la politesse telle qu'on l'observe dans les cours',[30] though he recalls that the *esprit courtois* had its origin in the south of France many centuries before its reëmergence in Italy.

In conclusion to the traditionalist interpretation we might say, therefore, that the French writers of the sixteenth century repeated the Italo-French humanist dictum of contrast between middle ages and Renaissance, of restoration of letters after many centuries of neglect. It was also noted, by Professor Ferguson among others, that 'Most of the French writers generously acknowledged the priority of the Italians as the original agents of the literary revival.'[31] We have also seen that

[26] The rôle of humanism in its relevance to this discussion is treated further on. See note 80 for the bibliography.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

[28] P. 156.

[29] Pp. 156–176.

[30] *Les Origines de la poésie française de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1920), p. 65. This is the position he maintains in the study of the predecessors of the Pléiade in vol. I of his *Histoire de la Pléiade* (Paris, 1939).

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

Renaissance scholars have continued to echo this originally Italian interpretation of the Renaissance. Italy is credited principally with revelation of a different, comparatively more pleasing mode of life, with rediscovery, popularization, and contextually sound appreciation of Greco-Roman antiquity, with secularization of letters, and with effecting this revelation upon a representative and impressively large number of Frenchmen, thereby making change an inevitable consequence.

B. THE ARGUMENT FOR CONTINUITY

The supporters of continuity base their argument on two allied facts. They are the high level of achievement of the French twelfth-century Renaissance as revealed, for example, through the recognized authority of Charles H. Haskins, as well as the examination of the persistence of its influence on French and Italian culture as demonstrated in the work of Paul Spaak, Jacques Boulenger, Marcel Françon, and others.[32] Their conclusions are based on newly discovered evidence and more thorough examination and reconsideration of literary, social, economic, and political factors.

Thus Johan Nordstroem holds that 'La Renaissance italienne n'est pas une victoire remportée sur le 'moyen âge', elle ne constitue pas une rénovation de la vie civilisée et de l'humanité grâce à une résurrection de la culture antique. Elle est elle-même une branche fleurie sur l'arbre puissant de la culture médiévale.'[33] He insists the essentials had already been discovered and developed, as indicated in Étienne Gilson's, Georg Voigt's, and John E. Sandys' respective studies of medieval, Renaissance, and classical scholarship and philosophy,[34] and maintains that France herself was the prime mover of the northern revival of learning which precipitated the Italian Renaissance.[35] This reasoning finds impassioned support by Paul Spaak, who maintains that Greek scholarship,

[32] See notes 10 and 11 above. Spaak's position is stated in the introduction to his *Jean Lemaire de Belges: sa vie, son oeuvre et ses meilleures pages* (Paris, 1926).

[33] *Op. cit.* (n. 10 above), p. 8.

[34] Étienne Gilson, *La Philosophie au moyen âge, des origines à la fin du XIV^e siècle* (2d rev. and augmented ed., Paris, 1944); Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* (3d rev. ed., Berlin, 1893); John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1900–1918), especially the second volume.

[35] A position not necessarily in keeping with evidence presented by scholars like Augustin Renaudet in *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris* (2d rev. and augmented ed., Paris, 1953), especially pp. 80 f., 114 f., 130 f., 472 f., 500 f. See also Bollea, 'Reflets d'humanisme italien', *Études Italiennes* IX (1926), 217–218, and Eugène Picot, 'Pour et contre l'influence italienne', *Études Italiennes* II (1920), 17–25.

the Italian wars, the invention of movable type merely *conditioned* the French Renaissance and that 'ce qu'elle [France] devait à des influences étrangères apparaissait, enfin, plutôt superficiel'.[36] It is also defended by Jacques Boulenger, who holds: 'Et si la France, qui fut le principal lieu de la première renaissance, a cédé plus tard à l'Italie sa place à la tête de la civilisation européenne, c'est la guerre de Cent ans qui en est la cause, la plus sinistre calamité, de beaucoup, que notre pays ait jamais connue.'[37] He concludes with reference to the undeniably significant impact of French Provençal literature on Italian poetry, particularly Dante and his contemporaries. And Istvàn Frank insists 'Ce fut précisément au contact de la poésie provençale, et à son imitation, que prirent naissance les premiers essais d'une poésie artistique et aristocratique en langue italienne.'[38] Dante's predilection for *troubadour* poetry (he not only imitated but also praised it in the *Divine Comedy* and in his other work[39]) was the key to its success in Italy. His successors, among them Petrarch, Cariteo, Bembo, imitated the *troubadours* freely, were even ardent collectors of their manuscripts.[40] The contribution of the Provençal poets, Frank maintains, and herein is sustained by Alfred Jeanroy and C. S. Lewis,[41] was the creation of the man of letters, the affirmation of individuality, the recurrent use of a recognizable favorite theme or *leitmotif*, titled poems, the stress upon technique, universality, and cosmopolitanism.[42] For the first time since classical antiquity the world witnessed the unique combination of personal or lyric poetry written in popular language by known authors.

And Henri Chamard further demonstrates the persistence late into the French Renaissance of the medieval *esprit gaulois*, satire of the church, woman, marriage, and love in the work of Clément Marot, Rabelais,

[36] *Op. cit.* (n. 32 above), p. 2.

[37] *Op. cit.* (n. 11 above), p. 9.

[38] 'Du rôle des troubadours dans la formation de la poésie lyrique moderne', *Mélanges Mario Roques* (Paris, 1950), I, 74.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 77. See also H. Hoepffner, 'Dante et les troubadours (à propos de quelques publications récentes)', *Etudes Italiennes* IV (1922), 193–210; H. Hauvette, 'La France et la Provence dans l'œuvre de Dante: Dante et la poésie provençale', *Revue des cours et conférences* (1929), pp 37–52, 239–256, 299–320. Hoepffner insists (p. 199) 'c'est avec soin qu'il a dû étudier cet art dont il s'est lui-même si fortement imprégné' but that his imitation was far from slavish.

[40] Frank, pp. 78 ff.

[41] See the introduction and pp. 315–327 of the second volume as well as the bibliography of Jeanroy's *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours* (Paris-Toulouse, 1935) and the introductory discussion and conclusion of Lewis' *Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936).

[42] *Op. cit.*, pp. 67–71.

Pierre de Ronsard, Jacques Pelletier du Mans, and Joachim du Bellay.[43] And though, as we have seen, he upholds the significance of Italy's influence, he restricts it to one primarily of example, of atmosphere.

Jean Seznec similarly demonstrates that the gods of antiquity had never completely disappeared from French literature; they were merely rediscovered at the beginning of the Renaissance, albeit through the influence of Italian humanists whose compilations were valuable source books for French scholars and poets alike.[44] The significance of this iconographic revival was 'la réintégration d'un sujet antique dans une forme antique'.[45]

Georges Doutrepont seems to state the focal argument for continuity. It is the insistence on better comprehension and greater utilization of Greco-Roman sources. 'S'il existe', he writes, 'une différence au point de vue de l'utilisation de l'Antiquité sous la forme de l'allusion et de la citation, entre les Christine de Pisan, les Alain Chartier, les Martin Le Franc, les Georges Chastellain, d'une part, et les Ronsard, les Joachim du Bellay, de l'autre c'est que d'un siècle au suivant, un *renforcement* c'est produit.'[46]

However, even this, the perspective of continuity or at least of reaction against granting Italy the leading rôle in stimulating the French revival of letters had parallels, strangely similar to the modern point of view, in the sixteenth century itself when, according to Franco Simone, 'une nette réaction contre la reconnaissance d'une primauté de la culture humaniste italienne'[47] developed as a direct result of the king's struggle with the popes, the rise of nationalism, and occasionally because of the poets' submission to the political position of the maecenas. After all, the continued popularity of the *Roman de la Rose*, the prose epics, *et cetera*, attests to the fact that all medieval literature was not rejected. The writ-

[43] *Les Origines*, pp. 44–54, and vol. I, ch. I of the *Histoire de la Pléiade*. Obviously these themes have little direct relevance to this study as they represent neither the predominant nor the new themes, nor their causes.

[44] *La Survivance des dieux antiques* (London, 1940), especially pp. 181–188, 278–279, 187–188.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[46] *Jean Lemaire de Belges et la Renaissance* (Brussels, 1934, Académie Belgique XXXII), p. 317. Cf. *Le Temple d'honneur et de vertus*, ed. H. Hornik (Geneva-Paris, 1957), introduction, and my review of M. Bambeck's article, 'Aus alter Form zum neuen Leben', *Zts. für französische Sprache und Literatur* LXVIII (1958), 1–42, in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XX (1958), 586–587.

[47] 'Sur quelques rapports entre l'humanisme italien et l'humanisme français', *Pensée humaniste et tradition chrétienne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1950), pp. 242–243.

ers of the French Renaissance seemed to scorn 'surtout, et résolument, la dernière heure du Moyen Age, celle des scléroses et des formes figées.'[48]

The supporters of continuity therefore maintain the doctrine of relatively unbroken influence of the twelfth-century French Renaissance which, though perhaps temporarily diminished in France, had a major effect on the Italian Renaissance and thereby returned to France in the sixteenth century. They also insist that much medieval influence persists throughout the Renaissance, that much of the supposed new in thought and in literature was known or anticipated during the middle ages, that the sixteenth-century French Renaissance was at best a new vision of the old.

C. THE PERSPECTIVE OF CONCILIATION

The third perspective we believe and hope to demonstrate upholds some of the most basic views of both 'traditionalists' and 'revisionists' and offers an approach which might eliminate unnecessary emphasis upon particularist conclusions. This perspective results from the necessary reconsideration of certain historical, social, cultural, and literary phenomena with a view to utilizing, possibly reconciling where they diverge, their respective contributions to our knowledge about the French Renaissance.

1. Historical considerations[49]

Established are the relative superiority of Italian over French culture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the evident effect of the wars with Italy, the influence of the Italian humanists in persuading French scholars—the first to be affected by the new current—of the rupture with the past and return to antiquity, and in inspiring them with the example of a greater individualism. But what are the specific causes of imitation? How did the wars with Italy or the example of Italy cause the change from the work of a Guillaume Crétin to that of a Clément Marot? Granted the natural attraction of the new and different, how were these revealed to France, why and to what degree should the French poets have sought to modify their cultural heritage?

[48] Saulnier, *op. cit.* (n. 6 above), p. iii.

[49] The following works form the basis for this section: Henri Hauser and Augustin Renaudet, *Les Débuts de l'âge moderne* (Paris, 1929); Pierre Imbart de La Tour, vol. III of G. Hanotaux's *Histoire de la nation française: histoire politique* (Paris, [1920]); Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France illustrée: depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution* V (Paris, 1926); Louis Batiffol, *Le Siècle de la Renaissance* (Paris, [1947]), as well as the other works cited in the text and the notes.

II. Political and social changes

The circumstances which form the prelude to the sixteenth-century French Renaissance are familiar to all students of modern European history. From the twelfth- and thirteenth-century climax of superlative accomplishment in literature, politics, and philosophy emerges a gradual modification brought about by many factors, chief among them, social changes marked by the rapid rise of the middle class, political changes distinguished by the Hundred Years' War, and philosophic and religious changes noteworthy through the contributions of Thomas Aquinas, scholasticism, and the religio-political dissensions culminating in the papal schism and ultimately the Reformation.

The hereditary monarchies, taking advantage of the landed aristocracy's constant struggles, gradually seized more power and evolved towards political absolutism. In this they were aided by the middle class which, in need of peace and order to pursue profitable commerce, strove to impose its own relatively unsophisticated political, social, and cultural standards. This was especially true of France towards the end of the middle ages.

By the end of the fifteenth century the king of France had become more than a monarch in name only, however small his territory because of the power of Burgundy, Aquitania, and other provinces. Unlike most European rulers, he had become powerful owing to legal reforms initiated by Louis XI, the Gallican tradition which, in conjunction with the expulsion of the English invader, had strengthened nationalism, the weakening of the nobility as result of their ceaseless struggles for power, the administrative work of Charles VII and Louis XI, and the growing wealth of France resulting from greater exploitation of her resources and increases in foreign commerce.[50]

In the opinion of Jules Michelet this centralization which centuries later proved to be the source of France's strength was at first no more than the substitution of one tyrant for another. 'A l'oppression locale d'un seigneur du voisinage, on croirait pouvoir résister. Le seigneur universel, lointain, mystérieux, le roi, qui paraît au XIIIe siècle, armé de la double puissance de l'État et de l'Église, est-il quelqu'un d'assez fou pour vouloir lutter contre lui?'[51] Yet Michelet exaggerates when he suggests that by the beginning of the sixteenth century 'Le mystère de la

[50] See Henri Sée, *Histoire économique de la France* (Paris, 1939), especially the first volume.

[51] *Op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 30.

digestion trône au sommet de la politique.'[52] It is a fact, however, that much of the king's power and wealth was derived from the support be it of French or Italian merchants and bankers or the 'merchant nobility', many of whom had but recently been rewarded with their title for extending the monarch financial support in return for these and other privileges.[53] Michelet cites *Pathelin* as a classic example of the resulting social, cultural, and moral climate. It is, in his opinion, the 'Noble enseignement mutuel de la bourgeoisie au peuple'.[54] And he claims that 'De même qu'en philosophie la victoire du bon sens sur la scholastique n'a rien produit qu'un grand vide; ainsi, dans l'ordre politique, l'avènement de la justice, l'ascension des classes inférieures, ne crée rien de vraiment vital, rien qu'une classe amphibie, bâtarde, servilement imitatrice, qui ne veut que faire fortune et devenir une noblesse.'[55]

The rôle of scholasticism and the rise of the *bourgeoisie* is not to be disputed. It is, however, doubtful whether these factors alone contributed to the equally undisputable decline in the excellence of artistic creation since its twelfth- and thirteenth-century peak and whether the growth of middle-class influence was really as nefarious, especially to literature, as Michelet would have us believe. The chaos of the Hundred Years' War, the secularization of the church as well as the constant waves of epidemics also contributed to the general cultural upheaval. Hence Gaston Paris concludes that by the fifteenth century 'il reste peu de place pour l'activité littéraire. Celle-ci ne persiste que dans certaines provinces plus épargnées, dans quelques villes protégées par leurs murailles, à la cour de quelques princes qui trouvent moyen, dans la détresse générale, de déployer une magnificence supérieure à tout ce qu'avaient connu les âges précédents.'[56] Thus the fifteenth century would appear to prepare the modern era through the disintegration of the middle ages.[57]

A microcosmic illustration of the appearance and effect of these various factors is the history of the city of Lyon, situated at the crossroads of Europe.[58] It was essentially a merchant city, governed by a merchant

[52] P. 94.

[53] See Marc Bloch, *L'Ennoblissement en France sous François Ier* (Paris, n.d.) for a detailed discussion. Cf. H. Sée, *op. cit.*

[54] *Op. cit.*, p. 94

[55] P. 95.

[56] *Esquisse historique de la littérature française au moyen âge* (4th rev. ed., Paris, 1926), p. 208.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

[58] See vol. 1, *Des Origines à 1595* (Lyon, 1939), of the *Histoire de Lyon* now in process

aristocracy in name and influence. As a result of its nearness to Italy and the major trade routes of the period it became an international center of commerce and culture, especially favored by the king as a source of revenue and base of operations for the conquest of Italy. Yet it was relatively free of political, religious, and social restrictions primarily because of the cosmopolitan atmosphere resulting from a large foreign colony, continued international contacts, as well as the absence of strict control by the religious authorities of Paris, especially the Sorbonne. So favored was Lyon's position that 'pendant une décade ou deux, [the city] devait concurrencer Paris et lui disputer le titre de capitale du royaume.'[59] For some fifteen years its citizens witnessed the triumphant entries—curious mixture of medieval and modern pomp—of the various royal dignitaries as well as the arrival of Europe's greatest scholars who were drawn there by the relative freedom of the city, its international atmosphere, and the promise of employment due to the presence of printing establishments which had almost doubled in number during the first fifteen years of the sixteenth century.[60]

The city was not spared the changes and disturbances which might result from such radically rapid social changes; thus there was the *Grande Rebeyne* of 1529 and the gradual disappearance of the old hereditary aristocracy with its replacement by the upper middle class. The new governing class demanded *culture* more in keeping with its practical interests. The larger number of books produced at first consisted mainly, therefore, of the prose romances or ostentatiously decorated missals. However, free of tradition as well as eager to rival the nobles whose heritage they had not yet replaced, they also cultivated the classics, founded a college, had literary circles, and built villas, some of which rivaled those of Florence in beauty and magnificence.

III. Internal, 'atmospheric' changes

In order to better understand the effect on literature of the transformations just discussed it is important to understand the attitudes of the

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of publication under the editorship of A. Kleinclausz, especially pp. 357–370, 381–388, 486–534. Also important are Henry Guy's *École des rhétoriqueurs* (Paris, 1910), particularly the first chapter, and V. L. Saulnier's *Maurice Scève* (Paris, 1948), especially the introduction and the first two chapters.

[59] Kleinclausz, p. 358

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 496, 534.

people for whom the poets wrote. Thus it is well to remember that medieval man lived in a relatively unchanging world in which God and the devil, birth and death, rank and fortune, time and infinity occupied a relatively fixed place in society.[61]

Johan Huizinga has recreated the general tenor of life in France at the end of the middle ages. 'Is it surprising', he asks, 'that the people could see their fate and that of the world only as an endless succession of evils? . . . The feeling of general insecurity which was caused by the chronic form wars were apt to take, by the constant menace of the dangerous classes, by the mistrust of justice, was further aggravated by the obsession of the coming end of the world, and by the fear of hell, of sorcerers and of devils. The background of all life in the world seems black.'[62]

The hour, the day, the year, life itself was 'encompassed and measured by the rich efflorescence of the liturgy'.[63] Art itself, as demonstrated in all the world's museums, played a major functional rôle in this perpetual ceremony. But all emotions required rigidly enforced conventionality of form because 'The passionate and violent soul of the age, always vacillating between tearful piety and frigid cruelty, between respect and insolence, between despondency and wantonness, could not dispense with the severest rules and strictest formalism.'[64] Thus sublimation was the *leitmotif*. Formalism was its mate, formalism as the sign of the restraint of passion and the futile attempt to revitalize a moribund era.

The declining middle ages is further marked by 'an incredible superficiality and feebleness. The complexity of things is ignored by it in a truly astounding manner. It proceeds to generalizations unhesitatingly on the strength of a single instance. Its liability to wrong judgment is extreme. Inexactitude, credulity, levity, inconsistency, are common features of medieval reasoning. All these defects are rooted in its fundamental formalism.'[65] And despite the political and social changes so significant for the future, feudal and hierarchal pride continue. They are even abetted by cupidity because of the increased circulation of wealth.

But the formalism extended even to love and its expression in litera-

[61] The fallacy of applying this generalization to *all* aspects of medieval life is obvious. The statement is true, however, if we grant the change in attitude, if we admit that there is a difference between medieval and modern man.

[62] *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

ture. 'In the Middle Ages the choice lay, in principle, only between God and the world, between contempt or eager acceptance, at the peril of one's soul, of all that makes up the beauty and charm of earthly life. All terrestrial beauty bore the stain of sin. . . . To be admitted as elements of higher culture all these things had to be ennobled and raised to the rank of virtue.'[66] Clearly, the *rhétoriqueurs' songe* or thes cholastic's tortuous speculations were not the answer as they created little new except form and merely perpetuated the old answers.

Of course, aesthetic emotion was not dead. Even modern man, just like his medieval brother, derives aesthetic pleasure from the formal pomp of marching soldiers or from the ceremony of a monarch's assumption of power. At the close of the middle ages 'Art had not yet fled to transcendental heights; it formed an integral part of social life.'[67] Therefore almost all aspects of life were the expression of this craving, even the costume, extravagant though it was by modern standards.

And with decline, the simple enjoyment of beauty for its own sake became 'on the one hand, an appreciation which is rather religious than artistic; on the other hand, a naïve wonder hardly entitled to rank as artistic emotion.'[68]

Also typical of the waning middle ages is the renascence of chivalry.[69] Chivalry and the correlative quest of honor related as they are to hero-worship also anticipate, in the opinion of Huizinga, the Renaissance.

Thus the art and the life of the late middle ages are an expression of an unquenched thirst for a beauty whose nature was as yet unknown. And since the means prevail over the possibility of attaining a goal, 'Burgundo-French culture of the expiring Middle Ages', concludes Professor Huizinga, 'tends to oust beauty by magnificence. The art of this period exactly reflects this spirit. . . . The flamboyant style of architecture is like the postlude of an organist who cannot conclude. It decomposes all the formal elements endlessly; it interlaces all the details; there is not a line which has not its counter-line. . . . A *horror vacui* reigns, always a symptom of artistic decline. All this means that the border-line between

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 30

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 243. Prof. Huizinga cites several examples of fifteen-sixteenth-century 'art appreciation' by members of the educated classes. I grant that aesthetic response may not be much more refined today.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 67. See also the discussion in Georges Doutrepont, *La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909), and Henri Weber, *La Création poétique au XVI^e siècle en France de Maurice Scève à Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris, 1956).

pomp and beauty is being obliterated.'[70] Is there any need to recall the literary parallel of *rhétoriqueur* poetry?

IV. The poet

These changes were not without effect on the poet. In the midst of all this misery 'On ne voit plus les ménéstrels rassembler la foule sur les places publiques pour lui raconter les exploits de Roland ou les ruses divertissantes de maître Renart. Aux vifs et mordants couplets du sirvente, aux récits naïfs et malins du fabliau, succèdent l'interminable roman en prose, chef-d'oeuvre de stérilité et d'ennui; le pamphlet violent, haineux; le mystère et la farce assaisonnés de platitudes et de grossièretés. La vieille gaieté française a disparu un moment, étouffée par l'excès des maux publics.'[71] This depressing state of literary affairs has been fully described in the studies of Henry Guy, Georges Doutrepont, and others concerned with French literature of the fifteenth century.[72]

The poet's material circumstances have also changed. The popular poetry, except for thematic variations of contemporaneity, perpetuates or distorts the traditional forms.[73] With the increasing importance of urban life and the disappearance of the smaller courts the poet must seek the support of the king and the princes.[74] More poets now sign their work. Men of letters appear. And the courts welcome the poets since through their work 'A splendid court could, better than anything else, convince rivals of the high rank the dukes claimed to occupy among the princes of Europe.'[75] The motive—Huizinga's comment was made about Burgundy—applies to most of the courts of the period.

More than ever, it is art created at the command of the maecenas. And in keeping with the prevailing taste, the poets moralize *ad nauseam* or eulogize the keeper of the purse. 'D'après les ordres qui lui sont transmis ou les profits qu'on lui fait entrevoir, . . . [the poet] compose un épithalame ou un éloge funèbre, joue un air de triomphe ou décoche un couplet de combat.'[76] Politics in the narrow sense of gaining the maecenas' favor and in the broad sense of attacking his foe permeates

[70] *Op. cit.*, pp. 226–228.

[71] Charles Lenient, *La Satire en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1893), p. 261.

[72] See notes 58, 69 above.

[73] Lenient, *op. cit.*, p. 261; G. Paris, *op. cit.* (n. 56 above), pp. 209 f.

[74] G. Paris, p. 211; Huizinga, p. 31; Doutrepont, *op. cit.* (n. 69 above), p. 367; Guy, *op. cit.* (n. 58 above), pp. 61 f.

[75] Huizinga, p. 31.

[76] Doutrepont, p. 367.

the literature of the time. However, even Henry Guy, who has not showered the *rhétoriqueurs* with praise, recognizes the force of these circumstances. 'Comment', he asks, 'nourris par les rois, les poètes ne les auraient-ils pas célébrés?'[77]

The praise the *rhétoriqueurs* as well as their successors, the contemporaries of Clément Marot, heaped upon their sponsors was apparently not of much avail. The poets' material condition remained bad. The Saint-Gelays, Alamannis, or Aléandres who managed to amass fortunes were the exception. 'Neuf fois sur dix', reports Guy, 'ces aubaines passaient loin de lui, et on le récompensait en lui donnant un emploi. Ainsi la destinée commune des peintres, des musiciens, des orateurs, des poètes, c'était de figurer sur "l'état" des domestiques en qualité soit de secrétaires, soit de héraut d'armes, soit de valets de chambre, etc., et de toucher non des honoraires pour les ouvrages qu'ils produisaient, mais les émoluments annuels de leur charge officielle.'[78] They could, however, often depend on a new wardrobe each season, medical care when ill, food from the lord's table, and extra compensation for a particularly pleasing poem.

Insecurity haunted them constantly. And the quest for security often caused the poet to change masters; and with the masters, his political views.[79] Even the great Ronsard happily sang the praises of a series of kings. The case of Jean Lemaire de Belges is more classic and more unsavory, since his allegiance complied with the vicissitudes of his master's whims. And he had so many masters.

V. Humanism and Neo-Latin poetry

If the quality of French letters seemed almost to rival the discouraging material condition of the poets, the former at least was scheduled for a revival in which the efforts of the humanists and the Neo-Latin poets played a major rôle.

Most scholars today would agree on the importance of the humanists in any analysis of the Renaissance, French or Italian.[80] Certainly it is no longer possible to speak of a complete void in the world of letters in the light of the significant contributions of humanism. A more appropriate characterization might be 'a change of orientation'.

[77] *Op. cit.* (n. 58 above), p. 61. Cf. also Murăraşu, *op. cit.* (n. 10 above), pp. 99–104.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 46. [79] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[80] Cf. especially Burckhardt, *op. cit.*; A. Coville, *Gontier et Pierre Col et l'humanisme en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris, 1934); L. Delaruelle, *Études sur l'humanisme français: Guillaume Budé* (Paris, 1907); W. K. Ferguson, *op. cit.*; E. Garin, *op. cit.* (n. 5 above); É. Gilson, *op. cit.* (n. 34 above); M. P. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism, 1453–1517* (New

If, for many reasons, much of French humanism derived its ideational inspiration from the north (the mystic, reform, and generally new exegetic orientation),[81] the 'new' Ockhamist nominalism which more distinctly than before seemed to distinguish between faith and reason did not satisfy the new generation of humanists who objected to what they considered inauthentic sources and interpretations.

The very first group of humanists, the associates of Gontier and Pierre Col, as well as Jean Gerson, Nicolas de Clémenges, and later still Guillaume Fichet, Robert Gaguin, Guillaume Tardif, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Guillaume Budé, and Étienne Dolet, all were impressed and strongly influenced by the work and thought of their Italianp redecessors and contemporaries.[82] Their correspondence, their studies, and their visits to Italy itself had convinced them of the need to reform both the language and the subject matter, that is, to emulate the methods and style of the ancients (especially Cicero) as well as their thought. Since, however, they were aware of their own progress in this direction they applied the term 'barbarian' (often used by the Italian humanists in reference to northern scholarship) to their contemporaries, to those who opposed them or failed to see the need for a revival.[83] And since the French humanists were, in addition, profoundly concerned with theological reform, unlike the Italians who considered Boethius the last classical author, they attacked their more immediate predecessors while recognizing the contributions of the twelfth-century Renaissance.[84] Hence it was only in the third decade of the sixteenth century, after the effects of the increasing cultural exchange due to the Italian wars and visits of teachers and students, that humanists like Budé (in the preface to *De philologia* or *De studio litterarum*) and Dolet became 'purist', began to affirm the autonomy of literary studies.[85]

York, [1952]); P. O. Kristeller, 'The Place of Classical Humanism in Renaissance Thought', *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1956), pp. 11–15; P. de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1921); A. Renaudet, *Préreforme et humanisme* (n. 35 above); F. Simone, *La coscienza* (n. 9 above); G. Toffanin, *op. cit.* (n. 15 above); G. Voigt, *op. cit.* (n. 34 above). These form the basis of the following discussion.

[81] See, e.g., A. Renaudet, *Préreforme et humanisme*, pp. 64 ff.; F. Simone, *La coscienza*, ch. III.

[82] Cf. A. Coville, *op. cit.*; A. Renaudet, *Préreforme et humanisme*, especially pp. 53–290, 500–584; F. Simone, *La coscienza*, ch. III.

[83] F. Simone, *La coscienza*, pp. 46 f.

[84] *Ibid.*, especially pp. 50–57.

[85] L. Delaruelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–26; A. Renaudet, *Préreforme et humanisme*, p. 690 and elsewhere; F. Simone, *La coscienza*, pp. 118–157. For an analysis of French and Italian travel and study during the Renaissance cf. Émile Picot, *Français italianisants au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1906), and the articles on 'Les Italiens en France au XVI^e siècle' in *Bulletin Italien* I–IV, XVII–XVIII (1901–1904, 1917–1918).

The same intellectual milieu which gave rise to the new humanism nurtured a movement of poetry which sought to soar on sparrows' wings.[86] At first and casual glance the Neo-Latin writers might appear as the Latin counterpart of the *rhétoriqueurs* and, much like them, as successors to the declining medieval traditions. However, inspired like their fellow humanists by the recently revived interest in classical antiquity and all it implied, their work was 'modern' in that it was created by artists of distinct and individual personality who, imitating classical models or their Italian emulators, sought to create works of art.[87] Scornful, like the humanists who also wrote Latin verse, of their medieval predecessors, they also found in Italy and through their teachers (F. Andrelini, G. Balbi, J. Aléandre, etc.) the inspiration for their creations.

Doubtless they were part of an intellectual élite, part of a world apart, but for that very reason they could avoid the dangers of excessive traditionalism and were, in fact, an integral part of the general Renaissance current and in close contact with writers (the *Marotiques* and *école lyonnaise*) who were later to create a newly inspired French literature.[88] Their influence on their contemporaries was hardly minor if, as Paul Van Tieghem points out, we realize that, even ignoring editions of the classics or of medieval works, 'les libraires devraient offrir à leurs clients, comme nouveautés, au moins autant, et peut-être un plus grand nombre, de volumes latins que de volumes en langue du pays.'[89] Latin was, after all, the language of cultural expression during the Renaissance. And if the Dolets or Macrins were unique and Latin was to yield to the vernacular, these writers were no less a part of their time and a significant link with the *Pléiade* and all it represents.

VI. Italy

France had never broken contact with Italy. Word of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio had reached the French humanists before the wars opened wide the avenues to a broader exchange of ideas. But for a long time France had been far too occupied with her own problems to be concerned with activities across the border. Here and there Italy had emerged in French poetry. However, the influence, if symptomatic, was insignificant. Christine de Pisan, of Italian birth, had imitated

[86] See, especially, Murăraşu, *op. cit.* (n. 10 above), and Paul Van Tieghem, *La Littérature latine de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1944).

[87] Murăraşu, especially pp. 1–26, 138; Van Tieghem, especially pp. 14–17.

[88] Cf. Delaruelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–26; Murăraşu, pp. 11 ff., 23 f., 39, 128, 138; Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme*, pp. 80 ff., 130 ff.; Van Tieghem, p. 36.

[89] P. 32.

Dante. The first generation of French humanists[90] travelled widely, carried on extensive correspondence with Italians, and had more direct contact with Italian culture at the court of Avignon. But these are the exception; they had either no influence or were concerned exclusively with Latin style and language.

By the end of the fifteenth century France was strong and united, whereas Italy was a political vacuum eagerly viewed by her neighbor with covetous eyes. The kings of France were interested in seizing the thrones of Naples and Milan.

The 'northern barbarians' were not ignorant of what lay beyond the mountains. Italy was then, as it has been throughout all these centuries, the lost paradise. 'La vieille tradition de la romanité, les sentiments qui entraînent les pèlerins sur les routes au bout desquelles ils contempleront les *mirabilia urbis Romae*, le prestige du siège de Pierre, et aussi le désir plus profane—le *dahin* goethéen—d'aller voir le pays béni où la vie semble douce, facile, joyeuse et brillante, il y a de tout cela dans l'espèce de nostalgie de l'Italie que l'on rencontre chez tous les "barbares" d'outremont.'[91]

Yet Italy lacked the one assurance of survival: political unity. Her forces had been exhausted by the violence of her internal struggles.[92] By the end of the fifteenth century the country was a patchwork of sovereign courts each jealous of the other, each desirous of surpassing the other in brilliance. 'L'excès de la décentralisation correspondait à un excès d'émulation.'[93]

A political vacuum existed. It was only natural that France attempted to fill it. It is noteworthy that 'le goût du luxe, la bonne humeur ou l'esprit',[94] of which France had an abundance, had not been enough to raise the level of her artistic production.[95] Direct contact seemed needed, contact on a large scale. That contact was provided through the wars with Italy.

The Frenchman of the fifteenth century who had in the past traveled very little—only the citizens of the *Midi*, the clergy, many of whom were humanists or diplomats, had regular contact with Italy—suddenly saw *das Land wo die Zitronen blüh'n*.

90 See, e.g., Coville, *op. cit.*, and É. Picot, *op. cit.*

91 Hauser-Renaudet, *op. cit.* (n. 49 above), pp. 35–38.

92 See Eugene Müntz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France à l'époque de Charles VIII* (Paris, 1885), introduction and pp. 31 f.

93 *Ibid*, p. 44.

94 *Ibid.*, p. 437.

95 *Ibid.* Müntz' study has interesting comparative statistics to prove his point.

Jules Michelet very brilliantly evokes what may well have been the image of this collision of cultures. The conquerors, he writes, 'étaient éblouis, intimidés, de la nouveauté des objets. Devant ces tableaux, ces églises de marbre, ces vignes délicieuses peuplées de statues, devant ces vivantes statues, ces belles filles couronnées de fleurs qui venaient, les palmes en main, leur apporter les clefs des villes, ils restaient muets de stupeur. Puis leur joie éclatait dans une vivacité bruyante.'[96]

This time it was the entire country that saw Italy. And if we may doubt these soldiers spent much time among the ruins of Italy, no one will question the soldiers' interest in the more social aspects of Italian life. The French could not fail to be impressed by the brilliant life, the costumes, gardens, palaces, by all that was and still is Italy; by much that was then lacking in France. And if we remember that the wars lasted some twenty years 'on peut dire que la civilisation italienne exerça constamment sa séduction sur les seigneurs français et sur nos rois, mais qu'ils fixèrent surtout leur attention sur ce qui se voit, ce qui paraît, ce qui brille, ce qui donne de l'éclat à la vie des hautes classes.'[97]

The material importation of Italian culture has been reported in varying detail by all Renaissance scholars; brought back to France were poets and painters, architects and scholars, household servants and dancing masters, paintings and books, manners and even the vocabulary. The intellectual influence, these same scholars emphasize,[98] was gradual, the immediate general effect was social, and the first cultural impact affected the humanists.

D. CONCLUSION

Following are the conclusions which seem objectively valid for the determination of the causes of literary change during the French Renaissance.

Johan Huizinga, fully aware of the significance of both the traditionalist and the continuity arguments, maintains there is 'a difference which we feel to be essential, though hard to define, just as it is impossible to express the difference of taste between a strawberry and an apple.'[99] As the difference exists the critic must assume the responsibility of attempting to identify it.

[96] *Op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 147; Müntz, pp. 502 f.; notes 20, 22, 23, 30 above.

[97] Morçay, *op. cit.* (n. 13 above), I, 75. See also Villey, *op. cit.* (n. 23 above), p. 2.

[98] See, e.g., Morçay, I, 79; Müntz, pp. 503, 518; Murăraşu, pp. 24, 138; Villey, p. 2.

[99] *Op. cit.* (n. 10 above), p. 252. Cf. P. O. Kristeller, *op. cit.* (n. 80 above), p. 11, who writes, 'there seems to be no doubt about the distinctive physiognomy of the Renaissance' and that the Renaissance problem 'is largely a pseudo-problem'.

Rather than agree completely with Franco Simone's position that the contemporaries erred in the exaggerated impressions of a break with the past—'toutes ces craintes et . . . toutes ces sombres descriptions de l'époque'[100] are to him evidence of the historical fallacy—we might approve his conciliatory contention about change of the 'tendances spirituelles'.[101] For though French humanism, for example, existed prior to the 'discovery' of Italy, the ancients, or the Italian humanists, a significant change at least of perspective, of attitude had occurred. The classics, formerly adapted to a particular religious attitude, gradually became relatively independent of ideational modification. There is much difference between *Ovide moralisé* and the Renaissance editions or translations of Ovid.

There is, then, one fact on which all may agree; it is the change of perspective. And this change is expressed by the Renaissance 'fallacy' of the break with the immediate past. We might even be so daring as to ask whether this 'opinion' was not really fact? For it was fact, as we have seen, to the people who believed it.[102] But if it was fact can we conclude that the Renaissance was its own cause? Or can we maintain with any degree of objectivity that the Renaissance of the twelfth century really had any meaning to the writers, to the people of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, absorbed as they were by the 'grandeur' of their own period. 'Au vrai', comments Professor Saulnier, 'chaque moment existe, et produit pour lui-même.'[103] The historical perspective remains, in the long run, the historian's domain.

There are, however, definite undisputed facts and causes relevant to this analysis on which we may conclude positively in view of our preceding discussion.

French literature of the fifteenth century was in a state of relative decline owing to certain social, cultural, and political changes which affected the poets as well as their readers. The political changes had strengthened the country through national unity, yet weakened it because of the war with England. The social changes had created a new society, consequently a new public as well as new artists. The over-all

[100] 'Le Moyen-âge, la Renaissance et la critique moderne', *Revue de Littérature Comparée* XVIII (1938), p. 421.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 427.

[102] V. L. Saulnier, *Préface* (n. 6 above), p. xi, writes: 'Ce qu'une époque a pensé d'elle-même peut être illusion, mais cette illusion est déjà un fait historique.' See also Weisinger, *op. cit.* (n 6 above), p. 567.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

picture of France during the fifteenth century is one of growing political strength but *generally* declining culture.

There was need, therefore, of a renascence, of a change as expressed in the life and work of the period. France could, indeed, have found expression and fulfillment of her need gradually, though perhaps still through the guidance of Italy.[104] For the country was a neighbor and set a far superior example. As it happened, a political vacuum existed. France invaded Italy. The possibilities and reasons for cultural contact multiplied.

It appears, then, that the sequence of motivations for literary transformation in France was political, social, and, finally, artistic. Political circumstances were largely responsible both for the immediate decline as well as the more rapid revitalization of French life and letters. The need for new modes of expression emerged as the result of the new public which, in turn, developed in consequence to these political and social changes. These very changes, affecting the quantity and relative excellence of literature, in turn were responsible for its renascence. And this renascence, no matter what its prior expression, received its major impulse from the humanist propaganda, the new demands of the maecenas who had discovered a lost paradise, and the direct experience of the poet himself who must have looked with favor upon a civilization where the poet was a statesman, not a member of the household.

As the future seemed then to hold little promise in France, pessimism —witness the morbid preoccupation with death—prevailed. Italy both before and after the wars offered the twofold solution of a glorious past, antiquity, as well as the immediate realization of a better present and future. A. Dupront emphasizes the paradox of the French Renaissance, of the 'temps à rebours', of the dreams of man 'qui marche lourdement à reculons dans la nostalgie du paradis perdu . . . Il fallait pour la libération et pour qu'elle ne soit pas anarchie, un ordre de révérence.'[105] The worship of antiquity from Jean Lemaire through to Racine became the *leitmotif* of this new order of reverence.

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[104] Saulnier (p. xi) stresses that, however important the Italian influence, it 'fut loin de tout submerger'.

[105] 'Espace et humanisme', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* VIII (1946), p. 10.

Some Unpublished Letters of the Italian Renaissance (from the Collection of Harold C. Bodman)

THE splendid collection of Italian Renaissance books and manuscripts assembled by Mr. Harold C. Bodman of Santa Barbara, California, destined to find a home in the Honold Library of the Claremont Colleges (which have had the benefit of other benefactions from Mr. Bodman), includes nine autograph letters of the Medici family and other prominent Renaissance figures. Of these letters, eight are published here for the first time.[1] These letters range in time from 1426 to 1521 and thus cover the most important century in Medici history, a crucial period for Florence and for Italy.

The first of these letters was written by Palla Strozzi in 1426. It is in the nature of a report from the scene of a sea and land skirmish on the coast near Genoa, between the forces of Florence and Venice and those of Milan and Genoa. The text is as follows:

1426

Magnifici et potentes domini etc. Hiermattina aparirono sopra Portofino 7 navi 3 galee et una galeotta, e subito il S. Infante delibero contutta larmata andar verso [canceled: lui] loro che stava qui per sicurta diquesto luogo, che assai sene dubitava. Andovi su Messer Thommaso ivostri [?] compagni e Thommaso dal Palagio e piacque loro chio rimanessi qui aprovedere difortificare questo luogo ecosi o facto per modo cene rendiamo assai sicuri. Le dette navi colle galee tirorono verso Chiaveri e quivi sursono e larmata continuamente le seguito, e molte bombarde dalluna parte e laltra sitrassono e di qui con barche e barchoni fu levata stipa per ingengarsi a focar le dette navi e venendo lanocte larmata sitiro verso Portofino per esser davanti allenavi alla loro partita, lequali ancora stanno surte. [canceled: Que]

Questanotte passata chore e giunse [canceled: q] qui una [canceled: b?] galea per levar certi fanti insu laquale venne Nicoloso Guasco mandato da Messer Tommaso a Messer Baptista e disse queste novelle videlicet che [canceled: A] Messer Antonio da Fiesco era partito dagenova pervenire a disturbar Messer Habraam e liguelfi concorrenti

[1] I should like to thank Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller for extensive aid in transcribing these letters, and Professor Felix Gilbert and Mr. Bodman for helpful suggestions.

collui, confanti lombardi 400 e fanti paesani 200 e giunsono allabastita di S. Croce sopra Sori presso agenova adieci miglia, e trovaronla sfornita e presonla. Dipoi sipratirono pervenire auno passo del Monte Boccho, che serra quasi tutta laparte guelfa. Messer Habram sentito questo prestamente mando Maximo Conte [canceled: part] capo di parte guelfa con paesani 500 e giunsono alpasso prima che Messer Antonio e furono allemani, e perlo primo assalto piu di 50 de nimici ne furono framorti epresi. Messer Antonio simisse in rotta e ritornossi alla bastita, linostri seguitandolo e sempre gridando State da parte paesani lasciateci fare co Lombardi, glirinchiusono nella bastita, et infra unora presono Messer Antonio con Lombardi 300 e menoronlo arecco. In quel proprio giorno Ottolino Zoppo capitano per lo duca di Milano nel Genovese parti digenova con cavalli e fanti assai, e monto insul monte difassi presso a 5 miglia dove avevan facto una bastia per fare spalle amesser Antonio. E sentito questo Messer Abram fe sonare amartello e in poca dora sitrovo drieto mille cinquecento guelfi, e monto aldetto monte, e ridusse drento alla bastita ildetto Ottolino contutta sua gente, per modo che messer Habram manda adire inanzi sifaccia giorno saranno tutti presi e morti. Per ancora non sento piu oltre. Dipoi questa mattina sono apariti insulmonte qui disopra due miglia con 3 bandiere diquegli delduca che erano a Chiaveri, e pensamo ilcampo venisse qua. Ristrinsimi con Messer Baptista et abbiamo riparati intutti imodi e sono paruti necessari per forma nonsi dubita diniente. Non sono scesi ne siveggono piu. Pensiamo con queste dimostrationi cerchino forma alle salveze loro, perche [canceled: e?] si sono portati co paesani in modo stanno con assai sospecto.

Io o parlato con uno della compagnia difieramonte vostro conestabole ilquale era stato preso achiaveri, e dice esservi grandissimo mancamento divectovaglia, che assai mene maraviglio, essendovi le navi cosi avicinate. Secosi fosse non veggio lebrigate delduca vipotessono stare, ne sicuramente andarsene secondo dice Giovanni Luigi ilquale e venuto inqua con assai fanteria e gente acavallo per serrar loro ipassi.

Sento Messer Matheo e Vieri sono iti verso dove e preso Messer Antonio per saper se alcuno fructo potesse seguire, e di cio o buona speranza, perche male potra fare ilcontrario, essendo nelle mani dimesser Thommaso. Di quanto sentiro vifaro presto aviso, benchio penso che dalloro che sono insulfacto piu pienamente sarete avisati. Provedete qua vengano verrettoni etc. Scripta insiestri adi 4 digiugno avespro.

Palla de glistrozi k.

The letter is a most interesting one in that it demonstrates the manifold interests and talents of Palla Strozzi and reflects the events of a significant period in the evolution of the Florentine republic. When the expansion of Milan in 1423 began to threaten Florence, the so-called *Dieci di Balia*, or Council of Ten, were appointed, among whom were Palla Strozzi and also Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. In the document appointing the ten, it is interesting to note that the Florentine cause is

described as 'Guelph';[2] and Strozzi of course refers in this letter to the Florentine forces as 'Guelfi' as well as 'i nostri'. As Hans Baron has pointed out, in the *Quattrocento* the term 'Guelph' had come to mean, not only the party of the church, but, more significantly, the party of republican liberty, and the word is defined in this sense by Leonardo Bruni in 1420.[3] The rôle of Strozzi as a prominent Guelph is shown by the fact that he, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, and Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici were the ambassadors chosen to persuade Venice in 1423 to join Florence in checking the expansion of Milan. His prominence, and also his firm grasp of affairs and details that appears in this letter, are revealed also in the interesting diary covering his activities as a member of the *Dieci* from 1 June to 16 November 1423.[4]

But equally striking are his cultural activities, which, in combination with his political activities, make him a particularly significant example of the civic humanist of his period. He was, for example, one of the supporters of the invitation to Florence of the famous Greek scholar Emanuele Crisolora, and was active in acquiring Greek manuscripts from abroad. After his expulsion from Florence at the hands of Cosimo de' Medici in 1434, he took refuge in Padua, where his house became a center of Greek scholarship and humanistic culture. Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–1498), in his biography of Strozzi, remarks that Cosimo was reportedly jealous of Strozzi's preëminence as a patron of humanistic culture. The praise of Palla Strozzi by Leonardo Bruni Aretino that Vespasiano quotes well sums up the man:

> Diceva messer Lionardo d'Arezzo, in lode di messer Palla, che il più felice uomo che avessi avuto la sua età era messer Palla, di tutte le parti che si richieggono alla umana felicità, così delle doti dell'anima come del corpo; fu dottissimo in tutte dua le lingue, latina e greca, e di maraviglioso ingegno; bellissimo del corpo e di tutte le parti, che chi non l'avessi conosciuto altrimenti, solo nell'aspetto arebbe guidicato che fusse messer Palla.[5]

One of the most attractive qualities of Strozzi is the dignity with which he bore his exile. All in all, it would be difficult to find a better repre-

[2] This document is printed in the foreword to the 'Diario di Palla di Noferi Strozzi', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Quarta Serie, XI (1883), 23–24.

[3] Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1955), I, 15.

[4] *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Quarta Serie, XI (1883), 20–48, 145–156, 293–309.

[5] *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*, ed. Paolo d'Ancona and Erhard Aeschliman (Milan, 1951), pp. 388–389.

sentative of the civic humanism, simultaneously political and cultural, of the *Quattrocento*.

The second letter is one written by Cosimo de' Medici on 24 June 1543; no addressee is listed. As will be seen, in the letter Cosimo intercedes with his correspondent for a Giovanni Conte (spelled by him, characteristically, 'Chonte') who has been captured in fighting in the territory around Verona. The date of the letter makes it evident that the fighting referred to must be the hostilities of 1453 between Florence and Milan on the one hand and Venice and Naples on the other, which were brought to an end with the Peace of Lodi in 1454. A likely hypothesis would be that the letter is addressed to Francesco Sforza, requesting courteous treatment for a captured Venetian or Neapolitan nobleman who had some claim upon the generosity of Cosimo. The text of the letter follows:

Illustrissime princeps ac Excellentissime Domine post recommendationem etc. Per lettera della vostra excellentia intesi della rotta data per le vostre gienti alle gienti nimiche che erono in Veronese et chome insieme con molti altri era preso il magnifico Giovanni Chonte. Attendesi con desiderio sentire dellatre migliori. Et benche io non chredo cisia chagione che aldetto Giovanni Chonte non sia usata buona chompagnia, pure avendo tenuto antichamente buona amicitia con lui col padre e coglialtri dichasa sua, loracchomando quanto posso alla vostra illustrissima signoria laquale laltissimo Dio felicemente conservi. In Firenze adi XXIIII di Giugnio MCCCCLIII.

Vostro servidore Cosimo de Medici.

The next two letters concern Milan and Galeazzo Maria Sforza. The first of these is from Galeazzo's mother, Bianca Maria Sforza, and is a request for courteous treatment of a Conte Pedro, who has been captured by the Sforza troops. The date makes it evident that the capture occurred during the so-called Colleonic War. It will be remembered that in that strange conflict the Florentines who had been exiled for conspiring against Piero de' Medici were able, with the connivance of Venice, to raise an army and to obtain the services of the famous *condottiere* Bartolommeo Colleoni. Meanwhile, Florence was supported by Milan and Naples and also by the papacy, and the army of this alliance was placed under the command of Federico da Montefeltro. Ironically, the excessive caution of both generals, notwithstanding the excessive zeal of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who took an active part in the campaign, led to a completely indecisive result and a general desire for peace.

The Conte Pedro of this letter, then, is perhaps a nobleman who

fought in some capacity under Colleoni. The real interest of the letter, however, lies in the ironical ring, to a contemporary reader, of Bianca Maria's appeals to her son's mercy and generosity. His cruelty and depravity are of course well known, and his mother's pleading is not at all likely to have been effective. Indeed, the growing coldness between her and her son led her to leave Milan some ten months after the date of this letter. However, she died before she had reached her destination of Cremona, and the fact that it was widely believed that she had been poisoned by her son is a significant comment upon his reputation.[6] The text of the letter is as follows:

Galiazo mio caro. Tu say che per fin qui te ho dato pocho inpacio per veruno contra il quale habie facto o voluto fare piu una cosa che unaltra. e sempre sono stata per tacita al tuo giuditio. Ma havendo mo inteso la presa del conte Pedro constreta da li grandi benificii de li suoy magiori verso la casa nostra quali furono de tale effecto como manifestamente se sa che per niente non sono da essere scordati. Lavo suo primamente fece tante degne e relevate cose in servitio di signori nostri passati. El padre apresso senza altro capitulare liberamente se conduxi con la bona memoria del segnore tuo padre se diminuy la compagnia sua prestoe de li suoy dinari et dogni cosa resto per contento solo per aiutarne ad aquistare questo stato efecene maravigliose prove in tanto chelne [?] morite [?] non posso fare che di quisto non parli e che non te lo ricommanda cordialmente. Sono certa non lo habie facto destenire senza casone e maturamente pur alcuna volta se vogliono conumerare li meriti con li demeriti se acade che qualche uno se ne facia e retenirse de non procedere in tuto ala ponitione de quilli, si per exempio de li altri nostri servitori de quilli massimamente quali hora a te servano e che per lavenire te servirano avisandoti che se non fussero stati li servitori nostri passati tu non goderiti quello che tu godi. Pero e da fare chel se cognasca almancho esserti grati li servitii recevuti e si ancora per dimostrare de ti ne li subditi tuoy una vera clementia gratitudine e pieta risguardando piu presto ala bonta tua e a ti stesso che ay fali loro.per tuti quisti rispecti me sono mossa a scriverti la presente de mia mane pregandoti voglia havere uno pocho de conssideratione verso del prefato conte Pedro et alhonore suo de suoy parenti et amici et cosi quanto piu strictamente posso te lo ricommando. Datum in Mediolano die XXVIII Februarii 1468.

La tua madre Bianchamaria
de mane propria.

Verso: Ill.mo filio meo suavissimo Galeazi [?] Marie duci Mediolani etc.

[6] Justice requires the pointing out that Gaetano Pieraccini, who writes as a physician as well as a historian, interprets the evidence as establishing that Bianca Maria died of a combination of respiratory and cardiac ailments, not of poison (*La stirpe de' Medici di Cafaggiolo*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1947, I, 376–377).

The second of these Sforza letters is from Galeazzo Maria to Lorenzo de' Medici, and is dated 1474. It is of minor interest, and no comment is required, although it might be pointed out that it dates from the period of very close and even affectionate relations between Lorenzo and Galeazzo Maria Sforza. The text is as follows:

Magnifice compater noster carissime. Juliano da Varese nostro squadrero ve referira da nostra parte alcune cose che li havemo commisso. Piaciavi credergli non altramente como faresti ad noi stessi se presentialmente vi parlassemo.
Datum questa [?] die XII augusti 1474.
Galeazmaria Sfortia Vicecomes, Dux Mediolani etc.
Verso: [Magni]fico compatri nostro carissimo [Laure]ntio de Medicis.

The next two letters concern Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico. The first is written by Lorenzo in 1488 to the Florentine ambassador Pietro Vettori. The text is as follows:

Magnifice orator. Madonna Madalena mia figluola ha uno suo servitore che chiamono Tommasino de Risi molto buono. Ha una causa beneficiale con uno adversario suo laquale desiderebbe che la Maesta Regia lasciassi giudicarsi de iure. Io tipriegho ne facci ogni opera et maximamente perche ladversario intendo havere ilbeneficio male impetrato. Ineffecto tiraccomando questo Thomasino pelquale costi doverra parlarti qualche suo. Florentie die XVIIII Januarii 1488.

S. Laurentius de Medicis.

Verso: Magnifico viro maiori nostro honorando Petro de Victoriis oratori Florentino.

There is no indication in the letter of the location of Vettori at the time of writing. However, the phrase 'la Maesta Regia' could refer at this time only to Ferdinand I, king of Naples, or to Ferdinand II 'il Cattolico', king of Aragon and Sicily. The probability is, then, that Vettori was in Rome or Naples at this time. Pietro Vettori had a distinguished career in the service of Florence. He was born in 1443 and in 1463 married into the famous Florentine Rucellai family. He excelled in a number of military and diplomatic missions;[7] the most significant of these, perhaps, was his rôle in the peace conference of 1485 that brought an end to the war between Florence and Naples and the alliance of the papacy, Genoa, and Venice following the so-called 'Congiura dei Baroni' in Naples.

The second of these letters concerning Lorenzo il Magnifico is one

[7] Francesco Niccolai, *Pier Vettori (1499–1585)* (Florence, n.d.), p. 4.

written to him from Pistoia by Angelo Poliziano in 1478. This letter is of minor interest, except perhaps for the fact that Poliziano's praise of his pupil, Lorenzo's son Piero, for his progress in his studies, makes an ironical contrast with the next letter, from Piero, written some years later. The text of this letter from Poliziano is not reproduced here, since it has already been published.[8]

The next letter is perhaps the most interesting of all.[9] It is from Piero de' Medici to his two cousins Lorenzo and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco, written from Venice in 1494. It will be remembered that Piero was the precocious pupil of Poliziano who preferred diversion of various kinds to the serious business of literature or politics. When he succeeded his father Lorenzo in 1492, he immediately offended the Florentines, who criticized him as 'fastoso' and 'il fatua'. His unpopularity was increased by the general belief that he persecuted unjustly the two cousins to whom this letter is addressed, and Savonarola denounced his political tyranny and the moral tenor of his life. His dealings with Charles VIII, king of France, and his acceptance of what the Florentines regarded as shameful conditions of submission, caused a general revulsion against him, and he was forced to flee on 9 November 1494. Significantly, the scornful comment of the Signoria was that it was 'Hormai tempo uscire di governo di fanciulli'.[10] Piero fled to Bologna and then to Venice, where he was received with honor. Thereafter he made various futile attempts to regain power in Florence, and died finally in the service of the French army in 1503.

His character was weak and unstable, now timid, now proud and arrogant, and the epithet 'il fatuo' is a just one.[11] This weakness of character appears clearly in the present letter. The text is as follows:

Venendo costa Giovanni Betini e Bernardo del Beruto per ubidire a la Signoria onorandissima [?] li ho pregati vi portino questa lettera. Per laquale non mi occore molto

[8] It appears in *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite di Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano*, ed. Isidoro Del Lungo (Florence, 1867), pp. 64–65. There is an English translation in Janet Ross, *Lives of the Early Medici* (London, 1910), p. 212.

[9] Selected portions of this letter are quoted in a catalogue of Sotheby & Co., dated 24–25 January 1955, 'Catalogue of the Well-Known Collection of Autograph Letters, Historical Documents and Holograph Music, the Property of the Late W. Westley Manning Esq.' The letter appears as Lot 306 in the catalogue of the second part of the sale, covering M–Z. A catalogue of Davis and Orioli, London (Rare Book Catalogue 153, n.d.) quotes the same portions of the letter. I owe this reference to Mr. Bodman.

[10] Pieraccini, I, 171.

[11] I, 173.

infastidirvi cum mia parole, ma solamente aricordarvi che mai feci manchamento tale contra uomo del mondo che io meritasse la persecutione me facta e ala roba e ala persona. Ne adimando altro inverso tutte le cose che chiegovi se non volete havere compassione di me, vogliate almanco farme iusticia, et concedermi la mia donna co poveri figliuoli, acio che di me non habiate a sentire novelle o alcuno dispiacere del mio ben essere. E se non mi volete lassare altra roba, fate al mancho vi sia la dota, che sempre ad ogni vile et cativo ribaldo e stata conservata. Et se volete pure che io mi muoia di fame, che vi pare che sabbi offeso, non vogliate ne patiscan e mie innocenti frategli e poveri bambolini. E se non vi muove lessere io gia stato del sangue vostro et el non volere lexisilio [*sic*] di casa vostra medesima, muovavi Dio ela sua iusticia et che omnium rerum vicisitudo est. Venetiis 24. novembris 1494.

Petrus de Medicis.

Magnificis Dominis Laurentio et Joanni Petri Francisci de Medicis, Florencie.

The date of the letter is 24 November, and it was written therefore just less than two weeks after Piero's flight from Florence. There is an ironical note in Piero's assumption that his cousins have acquired political power after his flight. In fact, they did perhaps plan to acquire Piero's power, but the sudden reflowering of democracy that followed Piero's tyranny made it impossible for them to do so.

The final two letters concern the two members of the Medici family who attained the papacy. The first is written by Giovanni Medici, the future Leo X, to the Florentine canon Bernardo dei Michelozzi, from Viterbo in 1506. The text is as follows:

Messer Bernardo nostro. Noi habiamo commisso amesser Alexandro Sartio da Bologna che parli con voi de alcune nostre faccende lequali ce importano, e vi preghiamo li prestare fede come faresti anoi proprii. Fa [?] che ne operiate inquesta cosa secondo la fede che havemo et sempre habiamo havuta in voi. etc. Nec aliud. Siamo vostri. Viterbii die XXVIII. Julii MDVI.

Salutate et mi raccomandate al Signor Niccolo.

Vester Jo. Cardinalis de Medicis manu propria.

Verso: Venerabili viro Domino Bernardo de Michelozzis Canonico Florentino amico.

Just what commission Alessandro Sartio was entrusted with is not evident; it is possible, however, that the letter concerns the plans for the Medici-Strozzi wedding of 1508.

The final letter is from Cardinal Giulio Medici, the future Clement VII. It is interesting to note that it is written to Paolo Vettori, the son of the Pietro Vettori to whom the letter of Lorenzo il Magnifico is addressed. Paolo Vettori had an illustrious career in command of ships of various

types, and was appointed to the command of the papal navy by Leo X. Like his father, he married the daughter of a noted Florentine family, in this case a Strozzi. The text of this final letter is as follows:

Magnifice vir amice noster precipue. E se ordinato che daroma venghino inqua certe palle da artiglieria. Per questo e necessario quamprimum mandiate il vostro brighantino a Civita Vecchia dove troverra lordine di quello incio habbia dafare.
Appresso per una nostra dhieri vi dicemo che questi mercanti desideravano intendere per una vostra subito che il corrieri si expedi anniza ritornassi li davoi et per la presente vi replichiamo ilmedesimo. Benevalete. Florentie XXVIII MDXXI.

Vester Frater Vicecancellarius

Verso: Magnifico Domino Paulo Victorio Sanctissimi Domini nostri Triremium capitaneo amico nostro precipuo.
Iu[lius] tituli Sancti Laurentii in Damaso Presbiter Cardinalis de Medicis S.R.E. Vicecancellarius.

This group of letters, then, spans nearly a century of Florentine and Italian history, and illustrates to some degree the vicissitudes of both the Medici family and the city along the Arno.

University of Pennsylvania W. H. J. KENNEDY

The Medieval 'Cycle' as History Play: an Approach to the Wakefield Plays[1]

NE of the most vital questions in present studies of English drama is the nature and provenance of the Elizabethan chronicle play. At the mid-century of our era, it was quite clear that Felix Schelling's survey of the history play, now fifty years old, should be rewritten to include the discoveries of a half-century's scholarship. Such was the announced purpose of Professor Irving Ribner's book, which appeared in 1957 as *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare*. The origins of this distinct kind of Elizabethan drama underwent a close scrutiny in the new book, especially in relationship to Renaissance nondramatic historiography and to the medieval morality play. I still think, however, that the problem of origins has not been settled. As a medievalist, I am struck by the almost universal tendency among Renaissance scholars to pass lightly over the mystery plays as prototype of the Elizabethan chronicle drama, and Professor Ribner's work is no exception to the rule. From 1900 to the present day, such writers as Schelling, Tillyard, Chambers, Miss Lily Campbell, and A. P. Rossiter[2] have made only a passing bow to the cycles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, observing at most that the irregular and anecdotal structure of the chronicle play probably derives from the formless and sprawling succession of the medieval mysteries.

I am convinced, on the other hand, that the relationship between mystery and chronicle play is a close one, and that it is a philosophical rather than a structural similarity. The two kinds of drama are generically one, for their meaning is of the same nature. It is a matter of his-

[1] Read at the University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference 25 April 1959.

[2] Felix E. Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play* (New York, 1902), pp. 3–6; E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (New York, 1946), p. 24; E. K. Chambers, *Shakespeare: a Survey* (London, 1925), pp. 1–3; Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Histories: Mirror of Elizabethan Policy* (San Marino, 1947), pp. 8–17; A. P. Rossiter, *English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans* (New York, 1950), pp. 119–128; Irving Ribner, *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare* (Princeton, 1957), chapter 1, passim.

torical vision and perspective, not of dramatic or aesthetic organization. The medieval cycle *was* a history play, in my view of it. If this judgment is correct, one should be able to cast light upon the Elizabethan chronicle play by studying medieval cycles like that of Wakefield. I might even venture an additional hypothesis, viz., that the creation of a Tudor history play in the 1530s and the following decades was a successful enterprise precisely because the English populace was thoroughly familiar with history in dramatic form and gradually accepted a transfer of perspective from Biblical history to that of national import. I have, then, directed my present essay, which is part of a larger study, not only to medievalists but also to Renaissance scholars, as the ones concerned with the relationship here involved.

A Wellesley student, writing about 1930 on the York cycle, devoted a few pages to the similarities between the mysteries and the Elizabethan chronicle plays.[3] Hers is the only serious attempt I have found to indicate the analogies between the two, and I acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss MacKinnon for the starting point of the present essay. Her perception of the relationship included three parallels:

(1) the basically factual nature of the events and characters in the Biblical cycles and in the Elizabethan 'histories';

(2) the didactic element in both (an appeal to religious belief in the one and to patriotism in the other);

(3) a background of epic proportions in both.[4]

Miss MacKinnon's suggestions, then, direct our attention to the meaning of the medieval Biblical plays as historical material, and their relation to medieval historiography in general.

Medieval history writing is usually divided into three branches: universal, regional, and biographical (hagiography).[5] The first is that kind of narrative which attempts to encompass the history of the world, beginning with the creation and ending with contemporary events. Central to this enormous design is the history of the 'people of God', the chosen nation of the Old Testament and their Christian successors in the church of the New Testament. The second major division of historiog-

[3] Effie MacKinnon, 'Notes on the Dramatic Structure of the York Cycle', *SP*, XXVIII (1931), 433–449. I have also read Miss MacKinnon's unpublished master's dissertation on which the article is based.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 434–436.

[5] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), pp. 227–232; J. DeGhellinck, S.J., *L'Essor de la littérature latine au XII^e siècle* (Bruxelles, 1946), II, 92.

raphy is that of the monastic chronicle detailing the glories and the catastrophes of the local religious house and its surrounding territory, such an area often being broadened to include the history of the political entity in which it was located. Finally, the writing of hagiography or saints' lives forms the third and most restricted kind of narrative, but perhaps the most widely cultivated and most popular type in the middle ages.

Medieval attitudes to history varied in seriousness from one to the other of these kinds of writing, and even within one type there were many nuances of thought about past events. It is a truism often found in scholarly studies (particularly in introductions to Renaissance drama) that medieval writers regarded history as the working out of God's providence in the affairs of men; but it is a statement needing careful analysis and distinctions if it is not to be a mere label—a 'Christian' viewpoint to be neatly and artificially counterpoised to a 'humanist' philosophy of history supposed to have arisen during the Italian Renaissance. The providential view of history belongs, I think, essentially to universal history, to the story of the world when the focus is clearly set upon the development of the 'people of God'. To extend this theological view of history and its import to all the narratives of medieval chroniclers is to ignore the closer relationships between much historical writing and imaginative fiction, written for entertainment or for some practical end like the glorification of a reigning house. Such, e.g., was the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth,[6] claiming the attention of serious readers and yet drawing upon folklore for much of its content, and giving impetus, in turn, to the development of the medieval romance in all the countries of western Europe.

The concept of universal history as the unfolding of God's plan for His people is present in Holy Scripture itself,[7] but it was made the subject of explicit analysis little by little in the patristic era. St. Augustine's *City of God* is the *locus classicus* for the Christian theology of history, and the fountainhead of much speculation during the middle ages. Father Rickaby characterizes the eleventh to the twenty-second book of the *De civitate Dei* as 'a running commentary on the Old Testament'.[8] It is

[6] J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley, 1950), p. 426.

[7] Rev. Louis Bouyer indicates that the relationship between the church of the New Testament and the 'people of God' has been one of the most important subjects of study and writing among ecclesiologists in the past twenty years (*Liturgical Piety*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1955, p. 23).

[8] Joseph Rickaby, S.J., *St. Augustine's City of God: a View of its Contents* (London, 1925), p. 47.

not a 'philosophy of history', i.e., a purely rationalistic view divorced from Revelation; St. Augustine's work, although later used to construct philosophical speculations, was itself a theology of history.[9] He traces the origin and development of the two cities, of God and Satan, from the fall of the angels to the incarnation. It is an eschatological view of history, in which Jehovah guides the destinies of His city towards a goal which is supra-mundane and eternal—life everlasting in His presence.[10] The chronological pattern of this sweeping survey is divided as the seven ages of the world or the 'cosmic week', a periodization of history determined by the great decisions of God: the creation, the covenant with Noah, the covenant with Abraham, the exodus, the reign of David, the Babylonian captivity, the incarnation of Christ.[11]

The relation of secular to profane history is a difficult and obscure theme in Augustine. It is, indeed, a mystery, as Jean Daniélou has remarked; and the relation of secular empires and states to the progress of sacred history defies precise formulation.[12] But the providence which observes the flourishing of the grass in the field observes also the rise, decline, and fall of the world's kingdoms. In the case of the Roman empire, Augustine postulated that God had care for its strong natural morality in order that Rome's greatness would become the field where the seed of Christianity would fall and grow.[13] Jehovah also watched over the impact of pagan nations upon the Israelites of the Old Testament. A good illustration of the providential rôle in such a crisis is His activity in leading the Hebrews into Egypt in Joseph's time. The descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived in the land of Canaan until their numbers increased notably and there was danger of their intermarrying with the pagan inhabitants and losing their identity. At this time, under the providence of God, they found their way into Egypt, where they lived as aliens until they were called back to the Promised Land under the leadership of Moses.[14]

[9] Étienne Gilson, 'Foreword' to *St. Augustine's City of God*, tr. Demetrius Zema et al. (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1950–1954), p. xlvi.

[10] Jean Daniélou, s.j., *The Lord of History* (London and Chicago, 1958), p. 7. This eschatological view is also discussed by Bouyer, pp. 203 ff., under the term 'Parousia'.

[11] Augustine, XXII, 30. Augustine does not make a special cosmic 'day' for the exodus.

[12] Daniélou, p. 106.

[13] Gilson, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy*, tr. A. H. C. Downes (New York, 1936), p. 482, n. 3.

[14] Roger Poelman, 'The Pilgrimage Theme in the Old Testament', *Lumen Vitae*, XIII (1958), 198.

This care for the salvation of the world through a chosen people does not imply the destruction of man's free will. I am disturbed that Professor Ribner's brief discussion of medieval historiography should characterize it as a *contemptus mundi* attitude in which human affairs are of little significance and man's activity helpless in the shadow of God's providence.[15] I cannot agree, moreover, that the Renaissance *discovered* man's control over his own destiny. Even in the Old Testament narrative of God's intervention, sacred history is replete with Israel's frequent failure to coöperate with God's plans.[16] That Israel in large part refused to respond to the providential care bestowed upon it is evidence that men could choose to work out an independent destiny, of which the results would be, of course, ultimately disastrous.

The vernacular cycle plays, such as that of Wakefield, in which I am especially interested, should be placed in the category of history, universal history, as distinguished from regional or biographical. The focus is upon the 'people of God', as I have discussed that term. Only when the cycle is regarded in this light does its totality become meaningful, so that its individual scenes have an organic relationship to a unifying theme. A distinction between form and genre may be of value here. I am indebted to Dr. Craig LaDrière[17] for the principle of classification I am using when I call the medieval cycle a history play. The literary *form* is dramatic, as determined by its mimetic voice structure and dynamic reference (i.e., reference to a developing story or plot); its genre is that of history, determined by the meaning (the Biblical material) and by the serious attitude towards that meaning. This attitude is precisely, as I see it, the theology of history spoken of above, which discerns the prophetic significance relating the Old Testament events to the plan of redemption fulfilled in the New Testament. In this way a theological concept becomes the foundation of an aesthetic design, the scope of which is vast enough to encompass the entire cycle and rich enough to permit a fictive, imaginative texture of details to be woven around its basic elements.

That the Wakefield or Towneley plays are pervaded by such a theology of history is abundantly evident, and consequently they have a

[15] Ribner, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[16] Father Daniélou's chapter, 'The Song of the Vine', pp. 168–182, deals with the scriptural theme of the vine planted by the Lord and disappointing Him with poor fruit. The chapter is concerned especially with Isaiah v. 1–6 and the 79th Psalm.

[17] J. Craig LaDrière, 'Classification, Literary', *Dictionary of World Literature*, ed. Joseph Shipley, 2d ed. (New York, 1953), pp. 62–64.

thematic unity as a cycle. Contrary to the statements so frequently made about 'episodic structure' and 'recreational anecdote' in the mystery plays,[18] there is a logical relevance in the total pattern of the cycle which has astonished me. This coherence of thematic design is apparent, however, only when the plays are read in succession from beginning to end, just as the medieval audience witnessed them. The great difficulty of modern scholarship in this connection is the practice of printing extracts from the cycles in anthologies.[19] Rarely does a modern reader have the time or opportunity to contemplate the entire group as a unit and without fragmentation. Since I have addressed myself to the task of recreating the medieval experience as fully as possible in my own armchair and at my desk, I would like to offer a few reflections on what I find.

Again and again the Old Testament plays of the Towneley cycle present God the Father in soliloquy, musing upon His creatures and their destiny, or in dialogue with one of the patriarchs, instructing, counseling, or testing him. These expository passages are so frequent and so lengthy that they indicate more than a didactic purpose on the part of the author(s). They must have been intended for recapitulation, occurring, as they usually do, at the beginning of the successive pageants, after the audience might have been distracted or absorbed by the narrative particularity or the boisterous action of the preceding play. Moreover, each exposition reveals more of God's design than the previous one had done, so that a series of 'epiphanies' or clarifications grows into a progressive revelation of the eternal wisdom. This movement is itself a reflection of the gradually unfolding pattern of Holy Scripture. It governs the selection of characters, incidents, and topics for the plays.

The eight Old Testament dramas in the Wakefield cycle[20] are *The Creation*, *The Killing of Abel*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac* (a fragment), *Jacob*, *The Prophets*, and *Pharaoh* (*The Exodus*). Much the same selection occurs in the other surviving English cycles. These topics, although representing a small portion of the Old Testament, are the ones most concerned with God's intervention in the history of His people, the covenants He made with them and His marvelous works in their behalf (the 'magnalia Dei').[21] They are also the incidents appearing prominently in the

[18] See note 1, above.

[19] G. R. Coffman, 'Plea for the Study of the Corpus Christi Plays as Dramatic Art', *SP*, XXVI (1929), 416–417.

[20] *The Towneley Plays*, ed. George England and Alfred W. Pollard (London, 1897, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, LXXI).

[21] I am indebted to one of my graduate students, Rev. Joseph Dowd, C.M., for light on

church's liturgy, and their principal actors are the prefigurative types of Christ the Redeemer or they are the prophets who foretell His coming. (In a separate essay, 'Lyrical Form and the Prophetic Principle in the Towneley Plays', read at the University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference 30 April 1960, I have dealt with the problem of prophecy and prefiguration, and I am not concerned with handling it here.)

In the first play, having created Adam and Eve, God places them in the Garden with the warning,

> ye shall have Ioye & blis therin,
> whils ye will kepe you out of syn. . . .[22]

Since twelve leaves of this play are apparently lost in the unique manuscript,[23] the temptation and fall of our first parents are missing. The reader, however, is given the story in Noah's retelling of it as he soliloquizes at the beginning of the third pageant. Noah's speech, which runs to seventy-two lines, is a miniature *Book of Genesis*, ch. i–vi. The false fiend, he says, enticed man to sin,

> Bot in paradise securly | myght no syn abide,
> And therfor man full hastely | was put out, in that tyde,
> In wo & wandreth for to be. . . .[24]

But the promise of redemption had been given, the promise which echoes and reëchoes throughout the cycle's length until the death and resurrection of Christ. Noah recalls:

> Oyle of mercy he Hus [sic] hight | As I haue Hard red,
> To euery lifyng wight | that wold luf hym and dred. . . .[25]

The widespread sinfulness of man in spite of God's promises has led Noah to fear divine vengeance against humanity, a fear justified a few lines later in the appearance of God upon the stage. The soliloquy of 'Deus' is a regretful and melancholy one, rather humanly expressed, as He looks in vain for the reverence due to His majesty and the gratitude due to His love. 'I repente full sore | that euer maide I man',[26] He ob-

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the importance of the covenants in the cycle plays.

[22] *The Towneley Plays*, p. 7, ll. 192–193.

[23] *Ibid.*, editor's note, p. 9.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 24, ll. 38–40.

[25] *Ibid.*, ll. 46–47.

[26] *Ibid.*, l. 91.

serves; then revealing His plan to destroy the earth by flood He calls His faithful Noah and warns him to prepare against the disaster. After detailed instructions on the shipbuilding, God makes His first covenant with man, in a promise to Noah:

> Noe, to the and to thi fry
> My blyssyng graunt I;
> Ye shall wax and multiply,
> And fill the erth agane,
>
> When all thise floodis ar past | and fully gone away.[27]

A quite similar pattern is followed in the next play, in which Abraham ponders for almost fifty lines the sin of Adam, the slaying of Abel, the rescue of Noah from the flood. He is reflecting on the 'magnalia Dei' but his heart is heavy and he longs for death.[28] Although most of this play is given to the projected sacrifice of Isaac, with its tremendously dramatic climax, the playwright has taken care to give the incident a context by letting Abraham explicitly place himself in the line of his elders—Adam, Abel, Noah—and by giving a brief soliloquy to 'Deus' before He first appears to Abraham, at l. 49. God indicates that this is the moment for one of His great decisions or interventions in the history of the world, the moment of His second covenant (although He does not use that word itself):

> I will help adam and his kynde,
> Might I luf and lewte fynd;
> Wold thay to me be trew, and blyn
> Of thare pride and of thare syn:
> My seruand I will found & frast,
> Abraham, if he be trast;
> On certan wise I will hym proue,
> If he to me be trew of louf.[29]

In the final two plays of the Old Testament series, Moses leads the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt. This great moment is actually the birth of the people of God, as Roger Poelman says,[30] and it is notable

[27] P. 28, ll. 177–181. (See Father Daniélou's observations on the covenant with Noah, pp. 17–18).

[28] P. 40–41, ll. 1–48.

[29] Pp. 41–42, ll. 49–56.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 198. St. Augustine speaks of the people of God as being in their adolescence from Abraham to David (XVI, 43).

that Moses is the first character in the Wakefield cycle to address the Hebrews as 'folk of Israel',[31] and 'his [God's] folkis'.[32] When He appears to Moses in the burning bush, God says,

> Bot now thys kyng, pharao,
> he hurtys my folk so fast,
> If that I suffre hym so,
> thare seyde shuld soyne be past;
> Bot I Wyll not so do,
> in me if thay Wyll trast. . . .[33]

It is the theme of 'saving a chosen people' which Miss MacKinnon found as one of the themes in the York cycle.[34] A few lines later, God commands Moses,

> Thou speke to hym Wyth wordis heynde,
> so that he let my people pas. . . .[35]

It is the great command of the Lord of history, 'Let My people go!' The providence of God has preserved His chosen nation from Pharaoh's plan of extermination, in order that this people may survive as an entity and that the Messiah may come of it. Moses plays a dual rôle, that of prophet and leader, in these final dramas of the Old Testament series. In play seven (the *Processus prophetarum*) he heads the file of prophets in foretelling Christ's coming upon earth to save mankind; he also proclaims the Ten Commandments at this time, by a curious distortion of chronology, for the exodus from Egypt of which he is the leader occurs only in the following play, the *Pharaoh*.

It would be a lengthy task to continue tracing this pattern of history through all of the New Testament plays. Perhaps it will be sufficient to study the beginning and the climax of this section. God the Father speaks fifty-two lines at the beginning of the *Annunciation* play, recalling Adam's fall and the promise of redemption made to him. Deus then outlines the plan of the incarnation and redemption, recalling the promises made to Abraham and the prophecies which have foretold the design of history:

[31] *The Towneley Plays*, p. 56, l. 1.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 57, l. 18.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 68, ll. 126–131.
[34] MacKinnon, pp. 439–440.
[35] *The Towneley Plays*, p. 68, ll. 136–137.

To abraham I am in dett
To safe hym and his gett;
And I wyll that all prophecye
Be fulfyllyd here by me;
ffor I am lord and lech of heyle,
My prophetys shall be funden leyle. . . .[36]

The New Testament play which seems to me the crucial and climactic one from this theological viewpoint is the *Extraccio animarum* (no. xxv), better known as the 'harrowing of Hell' theme. It is closely related to the resurrection play which immediately follows it and is an integral part of the 'paschal mystery', as the liturgists use that term. The deliverance of God's people from captivity is a recurrent phenomenon in the 'magnalia Dei'; the exodus from Egypt was the first great occurrence of it; the death of Christ and His resurrection are a repetition of this incident in typological form, the fulfillment of the promise contained in the first exodus. Christ as a new Moses leads His people through death to life and He accomplishes this mystery on the anniversary of the ancient event, thus signifying the fulfillment of the promise contained in the deliverance of Israel from pagan bondage.[37]

Within the limits of dramatic representation, however, the resurrection itself is difficult to handle. It is worth noting that the abundant Latin liturgical Easter plays are not plays of the resurrection, but developments of the *Quem quaeritis?* trope, the journey to the tomb made by the three Marys *after* Christ has risen. The vernacular dramatists struggled over the problems of showing the resurrection with moderate success, but I think that they recognized its essentially nontheatrical character and chose to develop the harrowing of Hell theme as a way of *visualizing* the victory of Christ over death, sin, and hell.[38] The liberation of the Old Testament saints who had been detained in limbo is, of course, a scriptural and liturgical theme,[39] but the detailed narrative of it is of apocryphal origin, in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The conflict between Christ and Satan, well known from this apocryphal source, is essentially dramatic and lends itself readily to theatrical representation.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 87, ll. 41–46.

[37] Daniélou, pp. 204 ff.

[38] John Speirs, in *Medieval English Poetry: the Non-Chaucerian Tradition* (London, 1957), speaks of the 'harrowing of Hell' in Wakefield as stealing the thunder from the resurrection play (p. 361).

[39] See Karl Young's study of the theme, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), I, 149 ff.

Moreover, the parallel of the paschal mystery with the Old Testament exodus is more easily *visible* in the harrowing of Hell than in the resurrection play, for in the liberation of the patriarchs from limbo we see an exodus, literally enacted. The Wakefield 'harrowing' contains the line repeated from the drama of Moses, viz., the command of the Lord of history: 'Let My people go!' This line had been the crux of the exodus play, and now as Christ reaches the gates of hell He demands that they be opened in much the same words:

> ye prynces of hell open youre yate,
> *And let my folk furth gone. . . .*[40]

He repeats His command a few lines later:

> This stede shall stand no longer stokyn;
> open vp, and let my pepill pas.[41]

As the historical exodus had set the Old Testament in motion,[42] so this new 'exodus' marks the climax of the promised redemption as dramatized in the Wakefield cycle.

Thus has the author or authors of these plays closely knit the long succession of incidents into a pattern with a theological view of history, reproducing in dramatic form the narrative of Holy Scripture. Such a design as this, I think, was the real exemplar of the Elizabethan chronicle play, and was a 'grass roots' tradition in which the Tudor dramatists worked. That the mystery plays should be informed with this theology of history follows quite logically from the clerical authorship of the dramas and even more strongly from the fact that the medieval historian and the liturgical playwright were often the same person in a monastic community or cathedral chapter. The office of precentor, who is the one concerned, was primarily that of choir director, responsible for the proper chanting of the divine office by the monks or the cathedral canons.[43] He was the community's musician, but by a natural extension of duties he became also librarian[44] and man of letters, because he was responsible for the service books and their upkeep. In a monastery or

[40] *The deliverance of souls*, l. 193. (Emphasis mine.)

[41] Ll. 205–206.

[42] Poelman, p. 198.

[43] A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Cathedral Churches of England* (London, 1925), p. 20.

[44] R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 38. M. R. James, in *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. xci, gives evidence that the precentor was normally the librarian at St. Martin's Priory in Dover.

cathedral in which the liturgical dramas were performed in connection with the divine office, the precentor was 'stage director' of the plays.[45] He would need to be of an artistic temperament and was usually the author of the plays as well as their director.

That the precentor was often the historian in such a community is shown by the records. At Canterbury Osbern the precentor wrote lives of St. Dunstan and St. Elphage; Eadmer, his successor, wrote the lives of Odo, St. Wilfrid, and St. Oswald.[46] Roger of Wendover, as precentor of the Belvoir priory in the early thirteenth century, wrote his chronicle of contemporary English history entitled the *Flores historiarum*.[47] His famous pupil was Matthew Paris of St. Albans, the greatest of the Anglo-Latin historians.[48]

The cycle plays, of course, belong to the late middle ages, but the conditions of authorship had probably undergone no radical transformation since the era of the Latin liturgical drama, even though the production of plays had passed into the control of the craft guilds. Sir Edmund Chambers regarded the rôle of the clergy in this vernacular and popular enterprise as an important one, for 'long after the lay guilds and corporations had taken up the drama, performances continued to be given or superintended by the clergy and their scholars. Priests and monks supplied texts and lent vestments for the lay plays.'[49] Mrs. Frank speaks of the fifteenth-century French authors and directors of cycle plays as 'apt to be ecclesiastics like Mercadé and the Greban brothers, Arnoul and Simon', but adds that various professions were represented.[50] The strong probability of the continued clerical authorship means the continuity of a learned and theological tradition in the plays and the dominance of the view of history of the monastic chroniclers and of Augustine before them. On this point, therefore, I quite strongly disagree with Professor F. M. Salter, who regards the vernacular cycle plays as folk products with 'much the same sort of authorship as the medieval

[45] Gustav Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théatre religieux français du moyen âge*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1951), p. 34.

[46] R. Graham, 'The Intellectual Influence of English Monasteries between the Tenth and the Twelfth Centuries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new series, XVII (1903), 55.

[47] Dom David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1948), I, 291–292.

[48] R. M. Wilson, *Early Middle English Literature*, 2d ed. (London, 1951), p. 33; Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 34.

[49] E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), II, 97.

[50] Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford, 1954), p. 173.

ballads'.[51] I also find it difficult to agree with John Speirs' concept of the religious vernacular plays as folk festival dramas imbued with reminiscences of pagan popular ritual.[52]

Both A. P. Rossiter[53] and Professor Ribner[54] stress the rôle of John Bale in the creation of the English chronicle play. Although I see the transition from mystery play to the chronicle drama as a gradual movement rather than as the work of any individual, nevertheless it seems clear that Bale did consciously attempt in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, under the aegis of Thomas Cromwell, to adapt some well-known dramatic type to propaganda for the Reformation.[55] Because his *Kynge Johan* (*c.* 1538) uses an historical figure as hero in a quarrel with Rome, and because certain allegorical figures like Sedition and Dissimulation appear in it, Ribner and Rossiter see here the conjunction of the morality play genre and historical material for the first time. It seems to me rather that the allegorical characters are accidental stage devices, while the essential material of the play is analogous to the mystery plays, viz., the transfer of the Biblical destiny of the chosen people to a new group—to the people of England. Such an effort to transform the Biblical play is in harmony with a widespread movement on the continent to rewrite the medieval religious dramas from a new viewpoint, a movement given detailed study by Professor Hardin Craig.[56] It is because I see this dramatic type as a continuum that I have ventured in the present paper to call the medieval mystery cycle a chronicle play. In Bale's work mentioned above, the Interpretour (or interlocutor) says of King John between the first and second acts:

> This noble Kynge Johan, as a faythfull Moyses,
> Withstode proude Pharo for hys poore Israel,
> Myndynge to brynge yt owt of the lande of darkenesse,
> But the Egyptyanes did agaynst hym so rebell
> That hys poore people ded styll in the desart dwell,

[51] F. M. Salter, *Medieval Drama in Chester* (Toronto, 1955), p. 111.

[52] John Speirs, pp. 307–375. The chapter originally appeared as an article in *Scrutiny*, XVIII (1951–1952).

[53] Rossiter, pp. 127–128.

[54] Ribner, pp. 37–40.

[55] Rossiter (p. 119) says that Bale, who had been a Catholic and a Carmelite, was a paid propagandist for Cromwell.

[56] Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1955), chapter X, 'The Reformation, the Renaissance, and the Medieval Religious Drama'.

Tyll that duke Josue, whych was our late Kynge Henrye,
Clerely brought us in-to the lande of mylke and honye.[57]

The exodus theme unifies this play as it had unified the Wakefield cycle. When he wrote these lines Bale[58] had crossed from the middle ages into the Reformation, but the view of history which he was manipulating was familiar to English playgoers. It had been familiar for centuries.

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[57] Ll. 1106–1112 (in John M. Manly's *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, Boston, 1903, vol. 1). The reference to 'our late Kynge Henrye' could hardly have been in the 1538 version.

[58] A separate article is in order for a detailed study of Bale's work and of the gradual development I am postulating. Here I wish merely to draw the lines for my further investigation.

A Humanist's Image of Humanism: the Inaugural Orations of Bartolommeo della Fonte*

PROFESSOR KRISTELLER in his 'Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance'[1] as well as in his lecture on 'The Humanist Movement' in *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*[2] emphasizes the professional nature of humanism, assigning to it the teaching of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy at the universities of Italy under the designation of the *studia humanitatis*. While he would not, I am sure, deny the wide cultural significance of the writings and activities of the humanists within the Renaissance, he does take a more restricted view of them than those philosophers and commentators who look upon the Italian humanists as simply one phase of a broadly humanitarian philosophical and religious outlook stretching from the ancient world to modern times, be it Jacques Maritain or Corliss Lamont. And he also differs with those scholars who regard humanism as the representative philosophy of the Renaissance, making them share this distinction with the Aristotelian professors of logic and natural philosophy, with the Platonists (whom he does not consider to be essentially humanists), with the natural philosophers, and with certain other less easily classifiable thinkers. Apart from their tracts on moral philosophy and their speculations on the rôle of man in the universe, he does not regard the writings of the humanists as philosophical. 'Thus I should like to understand Renaissance humanism, at least in its origin and in its typical representatives, as a broad cultural and literary movement, which in its substance was not philosophical, but had important philosophical implications and consequences.'[3] While it

* The following paper was read to the Columbia University Seminar on the Renaissance 5 May 1959. The microfilms used were purchased by Professor Kristeller with the aid of the Columbia University Fund for Research in the Social Sciences.

[1] *Byzantion* XVII (1944–1945), 346–374; also *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Roma, 1956), 553–583.

[2] (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 3–23.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

would be fair to say that, in this country at least, Kristeller's point of view enjoys a fairly general acceptance, it is not completely immune to controversy, apparently because its factual emphasis on the scholarly and professional status of the humanists gives less scope to free-floating historical imaginations.

It is within this context that the inaugural orations of Bartolommeo della Fonte become of some interest. Della Fonte (or Fontius), 1446–1513,[4] was a minor humanist and a professor of poetry and oratory at the University of Florence in 1481–1482 and 1482–1483 and again from 1484–1485 through 1487–1488.[5] His colleagues at the university (which since 1472 taught the humanistic studies exclusively, the other faculties having been located in Pisa) were Demetrius Chalcondylas, Cristoforo Landino, Angelo Poliziano, and Naldo de' Naldi. Whereas the stipends of the first three in 1485 were 200, 300, and 250 florins respectively, della Fonte received 60.[6] While this may have been a measure of his fame and his political connections (Bernardo Rucellai seems to have been his sponsor whereas the others enjoyed the favor of Lorenzo de' Medici),[7] his philological studies have been well regarded, particularly by his biographer, the late Concetto Marchesi,[8] who was himself a leading Italian classical scholar.

Following the venerable university traditions of the middle ages and the Renaissance,[9] della Fonte addressed the students, his colleagues and

[4] Concerto Marchesi, *Bartolommeo della Fonte* (*Bartholomaeus Fontius*), *contributo alla storia degli studi classici in Firenze nella seconda metà del quattrocento* (Catania, 1900), states, p. 10, that he was born in 1445 because in a letter of 1495 he speaks of its being his fiftieth year. Arnaldo della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica in Firenze* (Firenze, 1902), p. 422, n. 1, corrects this to 1446 on the basis that the letter in question was dated Florentine style and hence written in 1496.

[5] Marchesi, pp. 55–56, 68–69, 72–73, holds that he was appointed in August 1481 after the death of Filelfo shortly after he had finally been called back to Florence to teach, that he was forced to leave in the fall of 1483 because of his quarrel with Poliziano, that, despite the statement of the *deliberazioni* of the university of 3 November 1484 reappointing him for this session, quoted by Marchesi in his notes (n. 1, p. 69), Fontius did not return until the following fall. The chronology I use is based on the manuscript dating of his inaugural orations, for which, and for the acts of the university officials given by Marchesi, see note 12 below.

[6] Giovanni Prezziner, *Storia del publico studio . . . di Firenze* (Firenze, 1810), I, 163, lists Chalcondylas, Landino, Poliziano, and Fonzio as the faculty in 1485 with the salaries given. He gives, pp. 164–165, the 1488 roll as the same with Naldo Naldi added and suggests, after a letter of Poliziano naming him a colleague (*Epist.*, V, iii), that Bartolommeo Scala also had been added.

[7] Marchesi, p. 55.

[8] Cf. Part II, 'Gli studi classici'.

[9] The formal rather than rhetorical nature of the medieval introductions to not only

the *ufficiali* of the *studio* at the commencement of his course of lectures in a public oration. These orations, six in number and probably all that he delivered while at the *studium* at Florence prior to printing them, are printed in three incunabula: Hain 7227, 7228, 7229. Hain 7227, which I use, and of which there are copies at the Biblioteca Nazionale (Magl. M. 7, No. 31a, leaves d4 and d5 missing) and at the Biblioteca Riccardiana (#537) in Florence, is without place and date. Hain 7228 is from the press of San Jacopo at Ripoli without date; Hain 7229 is Florence, 1487 'per Ant. Franc. Venetum'.[10] The orations are included in a Wolfenbüttel manuscript (43 Aug. Fol.), which I also use. Fontius, if he did not actually copy it himself, as seems probable from the handwriting, apparently supervised its copying and presented it to Matthias Corvinus while preparing a catalogue of the king's library in 1489.[11] An edition of

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the arts course but the entire curriculum is stressed by R. W. Hunt, 'The Introductions to the Artes in the Twelfth Century', *Studia Mediaevalia in honorem admodum reverendi patris Raymundi Josephi Martin* (Brussels, 1943), pp. 85–112, and by Edwin A. Quain, 'The Medieval Accessus ad Auctores', *Traditio* III (1945), 215–264. Some of the inaugural orations and inaugural poems of della Fonte's illustrious colleague Angelo Poliziano as well as the inaugural 'sermons' of della Fonte's contemporary, the professor of Greek letters at the University of Bologna, Antonio Urceo 'Codro', may be cited as other Renaissance examples. Isidoro del Lungo, *Florentia* (Firenze, 1897), pp. 176–182, reconstructs the lecture courses and corresponding orations and *sylvae* of Poliziano. The orations may be found in *Tomus tertius operum Angeli Politiani* (Lugduni, 1537). The *sylvae* are reprinted by del Lungo in his *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite di Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano* (Firenze, 1867). Some but not all of Codrus' '*sermones*' are published, out of proper order, in a volume containing a miscellaneous selection of his works, 'Impressum Bononiae per Ioanne Antonium Platonidem Benedectorum 1502'. Ezio Raimondi, *Codro e l'umanesimo a Bologna* (Bologna, 1950), pp. 147–150, establishes their correct order and dates them from internal evidence. Only in some of the fifteen orations published in 1502 is the subject of the lecture course indicated.

[10] It is probable that all three incunabula were published in close association early in 1488 (1487 Florentine style). Copinger (I, 218) indicates that Hain 7227 was 'Florent. S. J. de Ripolis', but erroneously dates it 1478. Since the final oration was delivered in November 1487 (see note 18 below), it seems unlikely that the series could have been put into print before the end of the year (modern style).

[11] Professor Kristeller very kindly secured and allowed me to use a microfilm of this manuscript. Although it was copied later than the incunabula cited, Fontius probably made this copy himself or, at the very least, supervised its copying. A comparison with Florence, Bib. Lor. XXXIX, 36 (a manuscript of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, copied, according to Marchesi, p. 139, by Fontius for Francesco Sasetti) and with Florence, Bib. Ricc. 539 (autographic notes and excerpts by Fontius) indicates the same or an extremely similar formal book hand. In general, whether an autograph or not, the Wolfenbüttel manuscript is textually more accurate and freer of errors than the incunabulum. It also, as succeeding notes indicate, supplies information as to date and subject of the orations and lecture courses that the incunabulum omits and makes it possible to correct Marchesi in several respects.

some of his works, Frankfort, 1621, is based on this manuscript; the contents are identical.

The first oration, delivered 7 November 1481[12] at the commence-

[12] Wolfenbüttelel Cod. 43 Aug. Fol. (hereafter cited as 43 Aug.), f. 139[r]. I follow the datings given by the manuscript, since the incunabulum omits them. Marchesi, p. 56, relying on inductive evidence, dates the orations differently, crowding the first five orations into the three years 1481, 1482, and 1483, including two apiece in the last two. It is his hypothesis that Fontius left for Rome in the fall of 1483 but did not return until the fall of 1485 contrary to the archival evidence quoted in his own footnotes. It is also his hypothesis that no oration was delivered in the fall of 1485 in order not to offend Poliziano and that the sixth and last of the series came in 1486–1487 on the grounds of an internal reference to the granting of a tenth by Innocent VIII to clerics attending the university in 1487 —an argument equally applicable to the year 1487–1488 which the manuscript names (see note 18). It is not necessary to assume that Fontius remained in Rome until after the spring of 1485 simply because he wrote a latter from Rome describing an event which occurred at that time. He could have taught his course and then revisited Rome. The act of the university officials gave him a one-year appointment in November 1484 and a new act of June 1485 gave him a two-year appointment beginning the following November: Archivio di Stato fiorentino. *Deliberazioni circa lo Studio Fiorentino e Pisano dal 1484 al 1492* n. 416, f. 107. 'Dicta die 3 novembris 1484. Supradicti officiales studii servatis servandis conduxerunt Bartholomaeum Fontium ad lecturam poetice et oratorie in Studio florentino cum eo vel iis concurrentibus. Pro tempore unius anni init. die primo dicti mensis novembris cum salario alias predictos officiales in una vice vel pluribus declarando in dicto anno et cum honoribus emolumentis privilegiis et aliis secundum ord. – Approbata fuit per dominos et collegia die 17 decembris 1484' (Marchesi 69, n. 1). *Deliberazioni circa lo Studio Fiorentino* etc. f. 112[v]. 'Die 23 Iunii 1485. Supradicti officiales studii florentini et pisarum servatis servandis conduxerunt ad legendum et docendum in studio florentino artem oratoriam et poeticam Bartholomaeum gianpieri fontium cum eo vel iis concurrentibus. Pro tempore duorum annorum initiandorum die primo mensis novembris proxime futuri 1485, quorum ultimus est ad beneplacitum dictorum officiales. Cum salario florenorum sexaginta etc.' (Marchesi 73, n. 1). For these reasons it seems safer to follow the datings given in a manuscript copied or supervised by its author and prepared for the library of Matthias Corvinus while he was preparing a catalogue of the same library for the same king. These datings, furthermore, give one oration at the beginning of each academic year that Fontius most probably taught at the university. The Florentine archives supply further evidence as to Fontius' appointments, in addition to that already cited (but misinterpreted) by Marchesi: Archivio di Stato, Firenze; Ufficiali dello Studio, 1484–1508 (shelf mark 1981), vol. 5, f. 124[v]. 'Die 24 mensis Octobris 1487 (conduxerunt) Dominum Bartholomaeum Fontium ad legendum in studio Florentino artem poeticem et oratoriam facultatem. Pro tempore unius anni initiandi die primo mensis Novembris 1487, cum salario florenorum sexaginta. . . . Approbata fuit dictum conductum per dominos et collegia die 2 Novembris 1487.' The 'Rotulorum Designationes' also indicate, f. 211[v], for 1484–1485, 'Bartholomaeus Fontius Fl. 60 (107)' (referring back to the folium on which appointment is recorded, which is the same as cited by Marchesi above); f. 213[r] for 1485–1486, 'Bartholomaeus Fontius Fl. 60 (112)'; f. 214[v] for 1486–1487, 'Bartholomaeus Fontius Fl. 60 (112)'; f. 215[v] for 1487–1488, 'Bartholomaeus Fontius Fl. 60 (124)'. For 1488–1489 and succeeding years his name no longer appears. His salary payments are also listed, but because of the irregular and dilatory manner in which the commune paid its professors, little information is forthcoming as to the exact dates of his appointments.

ment of his course on the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus and the *Orations* of Cicero, was entitled *Oratio in laudem oratoriae facultatis*. The second, delivered 6 November 1482[13] when his course was on Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Caesar's *De bello civili*, was an *Oratio in historiae laudationem*.

In November 1483 he left Florence for Rome, wishing to escape from a most uncomfortable situation caused by the hostility of Poliziano, his colleague. Although he received an appointment to teach eloquence at the University in Rome, he was even more miserable there and managed to arrange his recall to the university in Florence, again through the agency of Bernardo Rucellai, in time to resume his lectures in 1484.[14] Thus on 8 November 1484,[15] when the *Punica* of Silius was the subject of his course, he gave an *Oratio in bonas artis*. The fourth, of 4 November 1485,[16] before his course on the *Odes* of Horace, was *In laudem poetices facultatis*. On 7 November 1486[17] he delivered a fifth oration *De sapientia* preceding his lectures on the *Satires* of Horace. On 7 November 1487[18] he made his sixth and last oration *In satyrae et studiorum humanitatis laudationem* announcing his course on the *Satires* of Juvenal. Apart from the possibility that this lecture course was a direct and renewed challenge to Poliziano, who had lectured in 1485–1486 on Juvenal,[19] this oration is of especial interest for its vigorous defense of the superiority of the humanistic disciplines over the professions of law and medicine (now taught at Pisa but competing for funds from a common budget).

In fact, however, it is the exceptionally high degree of self-consciousness concerning his profession and his sensitivity to the criticism or the neglect of it that lends all six of these otherwise undistinguished rhetorical exercises their importance. Fontius was, to my mind, a careful and even gifted philologist, commentator, and critic of texts. He was relatively mediocre in other respects. We do not have very many of his

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The total paid out between July 1485 and December 1488, however, adds up to four times the sixty florins annual salary for the four years of his teaching covered by these records, ff. 178^{r}–186^{r}.

[13] 43 Aug., f. 145^{r}.

[14] Marchesi, pp. 58–73 with corrections of note 12.

[15] 43 Aug., f. 153^{r}. Indication of lecture subject on f. 159^{v}. Hain 7227 (hereafter cited as 7227) omits mention of this.

[16] 43 Aug., f. 160^{r}.

[17] 43 Aug., f. 165^{r}. Indication of lecture subject in opening of next oration, f. 169^{r}; also 7227, sig. d5^{r}.

[18] 43 Aug., f. 169^{r}.

[19] Del Lungo, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

writings outside of these orations, his letters, some poems, and some of his textual studies. Very few of the fairly lengthy list of his works placed at the beginning of the manuscript collection of his letters by his heir and executor Francesco Pandolfini have been located.[20] The one moral treatise (*Donatus sive De poenitentia*,[21] contained in both the incunabula referred to and the manuscript) is neither subtle, profound, nor imaginative. The inaugural orations, themselves, reveal a tendency to stock formulations and clichés. It is my contention that for this very reason his ideas are more representative of the prevailing opinions of his circle of patrons, professors, and students than those of a more gifted writer or original thinker might be—such, for example, as his two colleagues Landino and Poliziano.[22] With this in mind, and without denying him a certain capacity of showing insights that are intrinsically interesting, I propose to run through these orations in pursuit of a humanist's image of humanism.

In the first oration in praise of oratorical ability, after the usual introductions where he alludes to his having been added to a faculty distinguished by Landino and Poliziano, he speaks of the great gift to mankind made by the inventors of speech and writing. 'Proceeding thence in time, he who was more potent both in mental capacity and in suavity of speech compelled men by the powers of eloquence to cultivate mutual confidence among themselves, to serve the ends of justice, to enter into matrimony, and to assemble together in one town.'[23] But these capacities in the hands of the rulers of cities remained rude and without

[20] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Cod. Palatino Capponi 109 (77), beginning on verso of 4th unnumbered sheet in front (transcribed in Appendix I). Since the manuscript contains letters dated as late as 1513, the year of della Fonte's death, this list, made by Francesco Pandolfini, his heir and executor, may be considered fairly complete. However, it does not seem to mention his *Annales*, cited below in note 50. His letters have been edited by László Juhász, *Bartholomaeus Fontius, Epistolarum libri III* (Budapest, 1931). His poems have been edited by Joseph Fógel and László Juhász, *Bartholomaeus Fontius, Carmina* (Leipzig, 1932). See Appendix II for a listing of some of the works of Fontius known to exist in manuscript or printed edition.

[21] 43 Aug., ff. 118^{v}–130^{v}; 7227 sigg. f2^{r}–f12^{v}.

[22] For Poliziano's orations see above, note 9. Those published in the Lugduni, 1537 edition, however, seem to be more concerned with the specific text or author that was the subject of the coming course and less with the general nature of the *studia humanitatis* than in the case of Fontius.

[23] Fontius echoes the ideas but not the language of Cicero, *De inventione* I, ii, 2. 43 Aug., ff. 140^{v}–141^{r}; 7227 sig. a3^{v}: 'Procedente deinde tempore, qui magis et animi ratione pollebat et suavi locutione, fidem inter se homines colere, iustitiam servare, matrimonia inire, seque in uan moenia cogere viribus eloquentiae compulit.'

skill through many ages until the invention of rhetoric by Corax of Syracuse and its transfer to Athens and all Greece by Gorgias of Leontini, a man of the greatest knowledge of all things. The Romans, too, preferred deed to speech ('arationibus magis quam orationibus') until after the conquest of Carthage and Macedonia, when they took up Greek rhetoric and oratory. Eloquence began to flourish in an incredibly brief time.[24] 'But afterwards when both the liberty of the Greek cities had been destroyed and the Roman republic reduced to servitude, it was little by little dissipated. Thence followed the devastation of Italy, the frequent barbarian invasions and overturn of the Roman cities, so that eloquence was so hostilely abused that it lay hidden for many centuries in squalor and darkness. At length it was brought forth into the light again by the works of the most noble poet, Francesco Petrarca; yet it was in such a corrupt condition that it retained but few features of its old form. It was raised up from this condition by the munificence of Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, King Alfonso, and Cosimo de' Medici.'[25]

After this short sketch of the origins of eloquence and its historical vicissitudes, which in della Fonte's hands becomes even more of a humanist cliché, and which he will repeat in reference to the other branches of humanistic learning in succeeding orations, we come to the praise of oratory. 'All other human values perish in the shortest time: such as wealth, honors, beauty, health, power. The oratorical arts alone are the most firm bulwarks of our life which do not yield to the powers of enemies nor become corrupt in a brief interval of time. For they are with us always in our domestic affairs as well as in our public activities and cannot be taken away from us by fire, by sword, or by any violence. From whence arise greater advantages in private and public affairs than from eloquence? Whence richer rewards for every use and dignity of life? What, moreover, is more excellent or more divine than to hold the minds of men by eloquence, to assuage the enraged, to arouse the torpid, to lead from whence you wish, and again to drive them wherever

[24] 43 Aug., f. 141^{r}; 7227 sigg. a3^{v}–a4^{r}.

[25] 43 Aug., f. 141; 7227 sig. a4: 'Sed ea postea et civitatibus graecis libertate sublata et romana republica in servitutem redacta paulatim obmutuit. Vastatione deinde Italiae consecuta et crebris barbarorum incursionibus, frequentique romanae urbis eversione, tantam calamitatem perpessa est, atque adeo hostiliter agitata, ut permulta saecula in squalore ac tenebris latitarit. Sed prodiit tandem in lucem Francisci Petrarchae nobilissimi vatis opera; tanto tamen situ adhuc confecta, ut veteris formae non multa lineamenta reciperet. Erexit deinde de Eugenii quarti et Niccoli quinti et Alphonsi regis et Cosmi Medicis munificentia . . .'.

you wish? What is so truly necessary as to be furnished with these arms by which you yourself are able to protect yourself and yours, to punish the wicked, to care for the good, to embellish the fatherland, and benefit all mankind? What, at length, is more delightful than to be daily admired by the many, not for the greatness of one's fortune, not for the power of high offices but for one's very own genius and gift of speech? Can such great pleasure ever be gained from enviable riches and dangerous power as from facility in speaking to men? Finally, though we may be superior to beasts in many things, in this one we are far more outstanding, that we both have the power of reason and openly show it when we discourse among ourselves and reveal our thought by speech. Therefore we can do nothing more humanly, nothing more rightly, nothing more admirably than to excel other men in that quality by which we are especially superior to the brutes.'[26]

While it may not be necessary to quote so much rhetoric in order to understand della Fonte's motive for praising the same, this passage does reveal one interesting feature of our humanist's conception of humanistic studies. Rhetoric is indeed a rival discipline to those of the other professions, but here it is claimed that through it one not only achieves the advantage of making oneself superior to other men but that in so doing one becomes more peculiarly human. The highest and most distinctive type of man was not the philosopher, not Socrates, but the rhetorician, Gorgias. Renaissance Italian humanism in della Fonte's version of it may not yield that broad and generic philosophy of man that has sometimes

[26] 43 Aug., ff. 141^{v}–142^{v}; 7227 sigg. a4^{v}–a5^{r}: 'Caetera brevi peritura sunt omnia; opes, honores, forma, valitudo, potentia. Sola oratoria studia sunt vitae nostrae munimenta firmissima, quae neque adversariorum viribus cedunt, neque brevi intervallo temporum corruunt. Sunt enim sive domi, sive foris semper nobiscum, nec igni, nec ferro, nec ulla a nobis violentia extorquentur. Unde vero maiora proveniunt privatis aut publicis rebus quam ex eloquentia commoda? Unde ampliora praemia ad omnem vitae usum et dignitatem? Quid porro excelsius est aut dignius quam eloquendo tenere hominum mentes, sedare incensas, inflamare extinctas, et unde velis deducere ac rursus quo velis impellere? Quid vero tam necessarium quam muniri his armis quibus ipse te tuosque tegere, improbos laedere, bonos tueri, patriam ornare, et omne genus humanum iuvare possis? Quid tandem suavius quam a multis quotidie recoli non pecuniae magnitudine, non superborum fascium potestate, sed suo ipsius proprio ingenii (7227 ingenio) et faciundae bono? Ulla ne tanta in invidiosis divitiis et periculosa potentia quanta in homine dicendi copiam consecuto esse unquam voluptas potest? Denique cum rebus plurimis superemur, hac una longe brutis praestamus: quod et animi rationem habemus et eam aperte ostendimus cum colloquimur inter nos et dicendo sensa nostra exprimus. Quare nihil humanius, nihil rectius, nihil laudabilius facere possumus quam ut ea in re caeteros homines excellamus in qua maxime beluas superamus.'

been attributed to it. Nevertheless, it is interesting that in his forthright praise of the rhetorical arts he should claim that man's place in the universe was most properly achieved by means of them.

He turns immediately to a defense of humanism against ecclesiastical critics. 'Nor indeed should the fact that certain semi-barbarians detest and damn them as though they were contrary to the Christian religion deter you from our common studies. For these men do not convict our humanity of perfidy but reveal their own ignorance. . . . If they could discern how much the Latin excels the barbarian, the learned man the uneducated and rude, certainly they would blush and would cultivate this refined humanity as though something divine.' The Apostle Paul, the Greek fathers Basil and John Chrysostom, the Latins Lactantius, Jerome, and Augustine are duly cited as men who excelled in integrity and Christian sanctity 'yet also stood out in the elegance of their speech and writing'.[27]

'And if any one should judge that eloquence was the less to be sought after for the reason that in this age in judicial causes no speech by an orator is employed, and if that custom has become obsolete because of the vices of the times, still knowledge of the oratorical faculty should not for that reason come to an end, especially since we are unable to extol any other art or science either by speaking or writing without its aid.'[28] And if Celsus writes eloquently of medicine this should not be thought to be part of the healing art. If Vitruvius writes lucidly of architecture this is due to the principles of rhetoric, not to the science of building.

[27] 43 Aug., ff. 142^{v}–143^{r}; 7227 sig. a5: 'Neque vero a communibus studiis vos deterreat quod semibarbari quidam ea detestantur et damnant tanquam Christianae religioni contraria. Nam hi nostram humanitatem perfidiae non coarguunt sed ignorantiam suam detegunt. . . . Qui si tamen dignoscerent (7227 discernerent) quantum latinus barbaro, disertus inculto ac rudi praestet, erubescerent sane ac tanquam divinum numen hanc excultam humanitatem incolerent. . . . dicendi quoque ac scribendi elegantia praestiterunt.'

[28] 43 Aug., f. 143^{r}; sig. a5^{v}: 'Quod si quis eloquentiam propterea minus iudicat expetendam, quod hoc tempore in iudiciis nulla vox oratoris adhibeatur, etsi mos ille temporum vitiis obsolevit, non propterea tamen ab oratoriae facultatis cognitione cessandum est, cum presertim nullam aliam artem atque scientiam aut dicendo aut scribendo extollere sine huius praesidio valeamus.' Vittorio Rossi, *Il quattrocento* (5th ed., Milano, 1953), p. 154, also states: 'L'oratoria giudiziale era in balìa degli avvocati, e nei tribunali si soleva disputare, piuttosto che per via di discorsi, a botta e risposta', referring (n. 57) to a passage from P. P. Vergerio, *De ingenuis moribus* which speaks of the decline not only of judicial, but of deliberative and demonstrative oratory as well. Although there are some instances of trials at which humanists made orations, Rossi's further remark that the humanists, taken with Cicero's famous judicial orations, found a substitute in the invectives they addressed to each other is well taken. Certainly it is the fact that Roman judicial procedure was not prominent in his own day that Fontius here laments.

Eloquence should therefore continue to be studied even though of little use in forensic causes so that 'either living in literary retirement or active in public affairs we may treat of things in any place or time copiously, ornately, and lucidly. And whereas eloquence, the mistress of the whole human race, is acquired not only by nature but by practice as well and by art and imitation and by knowledge of the very greatest things', it needs to be carefully and systematically studied.[29] The mastery of these arts must be sought for the sake of speaking effectively in public assemblies and meetings and for carrying out the functions of ambassadors of princes and cities. For these purposes the study of the *Orations* of Cicero is indeed most praiseworthy.[30] Turning in peroration to his students, he added: 'You, moreover, dearest youths, who by the knowledge of these roads can reach to the highest peaks of refined humanity, should eagerly strive for this with me.'[31]

In summary three tendencies appear in della Fonte's defense or praise of eloquence: first, these are frankly the rhetorical arts that he is praising, and there is no danger of confusing them with philosophy; secondly, he sees eloquence as high in the order of qualities that render men peculiarly human; thirdly, he is very sensitive to a need to justify or affirm the usefulness of eloquence in the personal, the professional, and the civic life of his students. Moreover, the example of the early fathers should reassure them that it need not be contrary to the Christian religion.

The following year in his *Oration in Praise of History* della Fonte turned to another large branch of the study of letters ('facultas et eruditio litterarum'), historical literature, by way of introducing his course of the year on Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Caesar's *Civil War*. The structure of this oration follows what seems to have been a standard pattern for him: after an opening salutation and praise of the learning and distinction of his audience, he gives a general praise of the value to mankind of history; this is followed by an historical sketch of the origins of historical writing among the Greeks, how it flourished among the Romans, declined with ancient culture, revived with Petrarca, was sustained by the

[29] 43 Aug., f. 143; 7227 sig. a6^{r}: '. . . aut in ocio litterato viventes, aut aliquod publicum munus gerentes, quocunque loco ac tempore de omni re copiose, ornate, dilucide pertractemus. At quoniam totius humani generis eloquentia moderatrix non solum natura sed usu quoque et arte et imitatione ac maximarum rerum cognitione percipitur . . .'.

[30] 43 Aug., f. 144^{r}; 7227 sig. a6^{v}.

[31] 43 Aug., f. 144^{v}; 7227 sig. a7^{r}: 'Vos autem adolescentes charissimi iis itineribus cognitis, quae ad summum politioris humanitatis fastigium possint perducere, ad illud mecum studiose contendite.'

generosity of rulers, is now endangered again; to this is added a new statement of the utility of studying history, leading to a final exhortation to his students to devote to the study of his course as much zeal as he will try to give to teaching it.[32]

History as a branch of literature or (as he has it in a later oration[33]) of rhetoric manages, nevertheless, in della Fonte's treatment to transcend the conventionalities of his oratorical form and occasion. It is, in his view, through the existence and subsequent study of historical writing that mankind extends the range of its experience and hence of its knowledge and understanding. 'Thus it is through history that we who are long separated from the age of our ancestors, by reading of their deeds seem both to have lived in those times and to have been present at those events. For whereas this knowledge gained from not only the prosperous but also the adverse affairs of others certainly confers understanding free from all dangers, we owe very much to those who in order to make us and our posterity participants in past events founded history. They confer by their industry and labor the greatest utility on the life of mortals because it is essential to teach what is to be sought and what avoided. For when we read of the deeds of our ancestors, whether right or wrong ones, and we ponder their intentions, vicissitudes, and consequences, we are taught what is especially expedient for us. Since those who are born wise value prudence as the experience of many things, frequently they who eagerly study history surpass their ancestors in wisdom and prudence. For just as much as a long duration of time encompasses more events than the age of a single man, so much more prudent must he be thought who not only attains a knowledge of his own people and age but through accurate reading comes to know all nations and times. Thus they gather the richest fruits for effective living, both the young men whom the reading of history renders equal to their elders in prudence, and those of mature age who besides learning from experience are made learned by the examples of the past as well.'[34]

[32] Although the question of form is of no concern to the purposes of this paper, Fonzio's expanded rhetoric may be compared with the concise statements of the medieval introductions to commentaries on classical authors: 'Vita auctoris, titulus operis, intentio scribentis, materia operis, utilitas, cui parti philosophiae supponatur'—all succintly put. Cf. Quain, *op. cit.*, and note 9 above.

[33] *In bonas artis* of 1484. Cf. below p. 114 and notes 70, 71.

[34] 43 Aug., f. 145^{r}; 7227 sigg. a7^{v}–a8^{r}: 'Qua fit ut qui a maiorum nostrorum aetate longe distemus, eorum facta legentes et temporibus illis vixisse et rebus eisdem interfuisse videamur. Quae sane cognitio ex aliorum cum prosperis tum adversis rebus percepta

Having thus presented history as the arm of prudence in the conquest of practical wisdom, as opposed to philosophy based on rational principles, he turns to a humanistic version of the history of history. Some ages abound in great historians, but others signally lack them. Where kings and cities, powerful in their works and empires, reward the deeds of great men by celebrating their memory, there history, as among the Greeks and Romans, flourishes. The beginnings of history among the Greeks were rude and unpolished, merely records of times, men, places, and deeds. Herodotus and Thucydides brought it to greatness by utilizing rhetorical skill in their writing.[35] Thus his measure is still the utilitarian one of effectiveness. Listing many names, he includes Polybius, who 'wrote down forty volumes most accurately and learnedly of which only five survive'.[36] Similarly among the Romans the first historians were merely annalists, while their many notable historical writers 'as they were posterior in age so they were prior in eloquence'.[37] Then comes the familiar story of the decline of history along with the other good arts with the overturn of Rome by the barbarians. So great was the ignorance of the *studia humanitatis* that no one could write elegant Latin even if he had wanted to. Petrarca brought about a restoration of Latin to elegance, but history could not be repaired by this means alone.[38]

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cum doctrinam habeat omnium periculorum expertem, plurimum debemus iis qui ut nos posterosque nostros praeteritarum rerum participes facerent, historiam condiderunt. Sua enim industria et labore maximam utilitatem vitae mortalium afferentes quid sequi quid vitari oporteat docuere. Nanque maiorum recte aut perperam facta cum legimus, eorumque consilia, varietates, eventus perpendimus, quid maxime nobis expediat admonemur. Cum vero multarum rerum experientia prudentiam gigni sapientes existiment, frequenter historiam lectitantes maiores natu consilio et prudentia facile superant. Quanto enim plura exampla rerum longi diuturnitas temporis, quam unius hominis aetas complectitur, tanto est prudentior censendus is qui non suae tantum gentis aetatisque, sed omnium nationum et temporum memoriam accurata lectione complectitur (7227 consequitur). Itaque ad bene degendam vitam uberrimos fructus capiunt, cum iuniores, quos rerum gestarum lectio senioribus aequat prudentiam, tum aetate maturi, quos praeter experientiam rerum exampla quoque praeteritorum erudiunt.'

[35] 43 Aug., f. 146^{r}; 7227 sig. a8^{r}.

[36] 43 Aug., f. 147^{r}; 7227 sig. b1^{r}: 'Polybius quadraginta volumina quorum quinque tantum supersunt accuratissime dissertissimeque descripsit.'

[37] 43 Aug., f. 147^{v}; 7227 sig. b1^{v}: 'Quos omnes ut aetate posterior ita eloquentia prior est.'

[38] 43 Aug., ff. 148^{r}–149^{r}; 7227 sig. b2^{r}. Incidentally Fontius uses language that is suggestive of an early version of the 'failure of nerve' theory of the decline of the ancient world. He says (148^{r}, b2^{r}): 'una cum caeteris disciplinis historiae nervi torpescere, debilitarique incepere . . .'.

'For it is not in history, as it happens in other learned disciplines, that consequences are gathered by reasoning from those elements which preceded. . . . For history is fabricated not by rational principles but by speech applied to actions or events. And for preserving and saving these there are two special aids, memory and letters.'[39] Since the one is limited to a lifetime and the other disappeared with the 'Gothic tempest', history could not survive.[40] Still certain writers such as Eutropius and Orosius attempted to continue the tradition, 'from whom we draw as it were shadows rather than true things and absolute images. Nor were letters entirely exiled by others in succeeding times, so that in certain more protected places far from the flames of war some men of religion wrote chronicles. But these men preserved neither a certain sequence of events, nor a true order of times, nor one whole body of history, since with this one the head is found, with that one the upper arm, with another the thigh without discrimination. So much distortion and deformity of the monuments of history, by which the knowledge of past events is possessed, took place that some men, indeed good, but partially educated, heaped up into a vast rubbish pile whatever in passing occurred to them without any distinction of things, speech, or times, as though a ruin of fallen buildings.'[41] He cites as examples of such medieval historians the numerous volumes of Vincent of the Dominicans (Vincent of Beauvais), his successor Giovanni Colonna, of the same order, author of a work on the history of the world not unjustly called *The Sea of History* because of its tumid turbulence, and finally, Martin of the same order (Martin of Poland), who attempted to write of the lives of the popes and the Roman rulers.[42]

[39] 43 Aug., f. 149^{r}; 7227 sigg. b2^{v}–b3^{r}: 'Non enim in historia perinde accidit atque in caeteris sapientiae disciplinis, in quibus consequentia ex his quae praecesserunt ratiocinando colliguntur. . . . Historia nanque non rationibus, sed rebus adhibita oratione conficitur. Cuius tuendae atque servandae duo sunt pracipua adminicula memoria ac litterae.'

[40] 43 Aug., f. 149^{r}; 7227 sig. b3^{r}: 'gothica . . . tempestate'.

[41] 43 Aug., f. 149^{v}; 7227 sig. b3: '. . . ex quibus umbras quasdam potius quam veras res et absolutas imagines haurimus. Neque vero caeteris quae successere temporibus usque adeo litterae exularunt, quin in quibusdam munitioribus locis religiosi aliqui viri procul a bellorum incendiis constituti chronica scripserint. Sed ii neque certam seriem rerum, neque verum ordinem temporum; neque integrum unum corpus historiae servaverunt, quando apud hunc caput, apud illum lacerti, apud alium humeri sine ullo delectu locati fuerint. Accessit ad hanc tantam iacturam et deformitatem monumentorum, quibus rerum gestarum cognitio haberetur, quod nonnulli boni quidem sed parum eruditi homines, quae passim occurrerant absque delectu aliquo rerum orationis et temporum veluti lapsorum aedificiorum ruinas in vastum quendam aggerem contulerunt.'

[42] 43 Aug., ff. 149^{v}–150^{r}; 7227 sig. b3^{v}. Vincent of the Dominicans turned out to be the

Fortunately in recent times history, too, was rescued from this turmoil by the support given to learning by Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, King Alfonso, and Cosimo de' Medici.[43] 'As is known both from Plato and long experience, as princes are toward public affairs so is the rest of the city, and whatever change of custom appears in them, the same is diffused into all people. Whereas princes formerly were uneducated, therefore the others also were rude and untaught. So that if any men should apply themselves to our studies, no honor, no dignity, no reward was proposed for them, which before all are needed to inspire men to the right arts. For just as a temperate sky and mild breezes bring about smiling fields, so the humanity and beneficence of princes renders men more eager for studies. Therefore, after those most liberal men began to draw men of talent to themselves by granting them honors, held erect by the hope of reward and glory, many devoted themselves to the study of letters; and each one according to his talent either collected ancient authors, or translated Greek writers, or composed new works. Thus then along with certain other good arts history was aided by many learned men.'[44]

Flavio Biondo wrote of events from the decline of the Roman empire to our own times. Leonardo Bruni embellished the Gothic war and our own people with a greater voice, and Poggio following him wrote of the same Florentine history. Bartolommeo Fazio and Platina ele-

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only Vincent of the five in J. Quetif et J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Paris, 1719–1721) who wrote a history, namely the well-known Vincent of Beauvais and his famous *Speculum historiale*. Giovanni Colonna, died 1290, wrote *Mare historiarum ab orbe condito ad sancti Galli regis Ludocvici IX temporar inclusive libri VIII*. The Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence has a manuscript of this work running to 245 folia: Cod. Aedil. 173. Martin, one of nine of that name in Quetif et Echard, is certainly Martinus Polonus, fl. 1278, who wrote *Chronica de constitutione Romae tam summorum pontificum quam imperatorum Romanorum ex multis chronicis compilata.*

[43] 43 Aug., f. 150; 7227 sig. b4[r].

[44] 43 Aug., ff. 150[v]–151[r]; 7227 sig. b4[r]: 'Est vero et Platone auctore et longa experientia cognitum ut quales principes in re publica fuerint, talis quoque sit reliqua civitas, et quaecunque commutatio morum in illis apparuerit, eadem in omnem populum effundatur. Quoniam igitur ineruditi antea erant principes, caeteri quoque rudes erant atque indocti. Quod siqui forte se ad nostra studia conferebant, nullus honos, nulla dignitas, nullum praemium proponebatur. Quae res in primis homines excitare ad rectas artis consuevit. Nam sicuti caeli temperies et benignitas aeris gignit segetes laetiores, ita humanitas et beneficentia principum homines ad studia reddit alacriores. Ergo postquam illi liberalissimi viri caepere ad se honoribus et muneribus ingeniosos allicere, multi spe praemii gloriaeque erecti ad studia litterarum incumbebant; et pro sua quisque facultate aut vetera conquirebat, aut graeca transferebat, aut nova opera componebat. Itaque tunc a multis doctis viris cum aliae quaedam bonae artes, tum etiam historia est adiuta.'

gantly explained the deeds of King Alfonso and of the Christian pontiffs and emperors respectively. But alas, once again since the death of these princes letters have declined. He implores his audience of most humane citizens and you prefects of this 'literary gymnasium' not to allow Florence to fall behind other cities which she long excelled, and especially they should give support to the study of history.[45]

'For history confers the greatest utility on all. It deters the wicked from crime by the fear of infamy, and it inspires the good to virtue by the desire for eternal praise; by reading it private men are rendered eager to imitate the examples of their ancestors in doing great things and show themselves worthy of the greatest empires. Kings and princes themselves are inspired to distinguished actions for the sake of acquiring immortal glory through historians.'[46] How much then do we owe to those who gave their energy to writing history so that the memory of past events might be transmitted to us and our posterity, and in the first place to Lucan in verse and to Caesar in prose.[47] 'But as I make an end of speaking I urge each of you who will be hearers of this civil history that, perceiving its utility and amplitude, you devote yourselves with entire souls to Lucan and Caesar, most elegant authors and, for acquiring eloquence and receiving knowledge of great things, most useful.'[48]

As our own appreciation of the importance of humanist historical writing is increasing,[49] it is interesting to find della Fonte making so much of history both for its value as a source of practical wisdom and for its value as a source of examples of distinguished and moral behavior. While it is quite clearly thought of as a branch of literature, good

[45] 43 Aug., f. 151; 7227 sig. b4^{v}.

[46] 43 Aug., ff. 151^{v}–152^{r}; 7227 sig. b5^{r}: 'Quae pares verbis res gestas referens omnem utilitatem complectitur. Nam et infamiae metu a scelere ac turpitudine vitae deterret improbos, et aeternae laudis cupiditate ad virtutem accendit probos. Eius enim lectione privati quidam viri maiorum exemplis ad res magnas exequendas ingentibus animis inflammati, sese dignos maximis imperiis praestiterunt. Ipse vero reges ac principes ob immortalem gloriam per historicos assequendam ad praeclara facinora sunt incensi.'

[47] 43 Aug., f. 152^{v}; 7227 sig. b5^{v}.

[48] 43 Aug., ff. 152^{v}–153^{r}; 7227 sig. b6^{r}: 'Sed ut finem dicendi faciam, quicunque hanc civilem historiam audituri estis, adhortor ut eius utilitate amplitudineque perspecta Lucano et Caesari auctoribus elegantissimis et ad eloquentiam consequendam et magnarum rerum scientiam percipiendam utilissimis, totis animis incumbatis . . .'.

[49] Cf. Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), ch. 1; Hans Baron, 'Das Erwachen des historischen Denkens im Humanismus des Quattrocento', *Historische Zeitschrift* CXLVII (1932), 5–20; T. E. Mommsen, 'Petrarch's Conception of the Dark Ages', *Speculum* XVII (1942), 239 ff.; B. L. Ullman, 'Leonardo Bruni and Humanist Historiography', *Medievalia et Humanistica* IV (1946), 59 ff.

history writing is regarded as necessarily rhetorically effective because by this means it can best carry out its functions of adding the experience of the past to that of the present and of inspiring living men to good and great deeds by the example of the dead great. Whether humanists in general regarded their professional activities as important to the civil community, it is clear that della Fonte felt a strong need to justify the importance of his teaching to the city which employed him. While his own historical writing consists of the same type of annals[50] that he regarded as a primitive form of history, this oration represents, certainly, a contribution to the theory of history, anticipating to some extent the more developed *artes historiae* of the middle and late sixteenth century.[51] Renaissance humanism, which produced the important histories mentioned by della Fonte, was through this oration not lacking in a history of history, and one that has certain merits. While his treatment of classical history was mainly a recitation of names, while his list of medieval historians omits such notables as Matthew Paris and Otto of Freising, let alone Giovanni Villani, and while his humanistic distortions are quite evident, still this oration manages to see historical writing in a historical perspective and to present the rudiments, at least, of a conception of the nature of history.

I skip over Fontius' next oration, presumably delivered in the year 1484 after his return from Rome, because the summary nature of its contents, *On the Good Arts*, makes it more appropriate for later treatment. And, indeed, the very next oration, *In Praise of the Poetic Art*, which introduced his course on the *Odes* of Horace of the year 1485–1486, deals with the third great division of literature. Following Ficino and echoing Plato in the *Phaedrus*, Fontius regards poetry as produced by a 'divine madness'. 'But he who comes to the doorposts of the poets without the inspiration of the muses, thinking he can make himself a bard by technique and learning, is vain and puerile in his poetizing. For

[50] Possibly a historical work more worthy of the name, but unlocated, is his *Principiorum et temporum libri VIII*, listed among his works by Francesco Pandolfini. Cf. note 20 above and Appendix I. Giovanni Lami published his *Annals* as part of his catalogue of the Biblioteca Riccardiana from Cod. Ric. 1172: *Adnotationes in Livium et Iuvenalem et annales suorum temporum* (1448–1483), ff. 84^{r}–127^{r}; printed Io. Lami, *Catalogus Cod. manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Riccardiana Florentina adservantur* (Liburni, 1756), 193–197. Cf. S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze* (Roma, 1893), p. 219. Reprinted, G. C. Galletti, *Philippi Villani Liber de . . . famosis civibus . . . et de Florentinorum litteratura* (Florentiae, 1847), pp. 153–159.

[51] Cf. Beatrice Reynolds' analysis of these later treatises in 'Shifting Currents in Historical Criticism', *Journal of the History of Ideas* XIV (1953), 471–492.

noble bards, who are very few, create poetry not by art nor by science but rather by the divine spirit. . . . For God alone excites the madness of the poet and uses him as though a minister and messenger of his oracles. Our ancestors, the wisest of men, have affirmed concerning these matters that the other disciplines of the good arts can be accomplished by exercises and precepts, but the poetic is aroused by the powers of genius and inflamed by the divine spirit. . . . And the poetic itself is honored and worshiped before other most righteous arts because proceeding from divinity it lifts the outstanding poets to heaven and renders them immortal. For even though the oratorical faculty is thought to excel among all studies and liberal disciplines, still no one can be found among the Greeks who does not revere Homer more than Demosthenes and make the fame of Euripides and Sophocles more than that of Hyperides and Lysias.'[52]

'Among us also there are very many who admire Vergil more than Cicero, and in ancient times no oration of Messala or Pollio was celebrated as much as the *Medea* of Ovid or the *Thyestes* of Varro. And not unjustly. For if certain excellent men so very eagerly enslave themselves to the study of music, which is of the ears alone, how much more ought we to listen with our entire mind to the songs of poets, the perfect music not of our ears alone but of our souls as well, especially since with high delight we derive the utmost utility from the most weighty opinions and the most holy precepts of the poets.'[53]

[52] 43 Aug., ff. 161r–162r; 7227 sigg. c5v–c6v: 'Verum qui sine musarum numine ad poeticos postes venit, artificio et doctrina se vatem posse fieri putans, vana est eius poesis et puerilis. Nobiles enim vates, qui perpauci sunt, non arte neque scientia sed divino spiritu potius praeclara poemata concinunt. . . . Deus etenim solus furorem poetis incutit ac tanquam administris et oraculorum suorum utitur nuntiis. Quibus de rebus maiores nostri sapientissimi viri confirmavere, caetera bonarum artium studia fieri exercitationibus et praeceptis, poetam vero ingenii viribus excitari et divino spiritu inflamari. . . . Ipsaque poetice prae caeteris rectissimis artibus honoratur et colitur, quod a divinitate procedens erigit in caelum immortalesque reddit praestantis vates. Nam ex omnibus studiis liberalibusque doctrinis tametsi facultas oratoria praestare putatur caeteris, nemo tamen apud graecos inventus est qui non magis Homerum quam Demosthenem coluerit, pluribusque Euripidis et Sophoclis quam Hiperidis et Lisiae famam fecerit.' Cf. Plato's *Phaedrus* 245A; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* I, xxvi, 64; Marsilio Ficino, *Theologica Platonica*, lib. xiii, cap. ii, 'De Poetis' (*Opera*, Basel, 1576, I, 287): '. . . non hominum inventa esse praeclara poemata, sed coelestia munera, cuius illud affert signum in Phaedro, quod nullus unquam licet diligentissimus, et omnibus artibus erudidus, excelluit in poesi, nisi ad haec accesserit ferventior illa animi concitatio quam sentimus quando est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo. Impetus ille sacra semina mentis habet.'

[53] 43 Aug., f. 162r; 7227 sig. c6v: 'Apud nos quoque permulti sunt qui Vergilium magis quam Tullium admirantur, et antiquorum aevo nulla tantum Messalae aut Pollionis

Despite the divinely inspired nature of poetry it is its moral usefulness and the information it supplies that give it value. Especially Vergil, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal contribute to morality, also Plautus, Terence, Tibullus, and Propertius. 'Besides, in how many places these very poets treat most elegantly of virtues, vices, human affections, of lower and higher things, of the creation and nature of all things.'[54] Poetry is gracious, voluptuous, and pleasurable to youths, who, when they are drawn into its sweet-sounding study, do not become involved in angry lawsuits, in accumulating money, serving the more powerful, or falling into evil ways. All peoples, however barbarous and cruel, have honored poets. Rulers especially have paid homage to poets, not only Roman emperors but in recent times Frederick of Aragon to Dante, the Emperor Charles IV, Kings John II of France and Robert of Sicily to Petrarca. Why should he commemorate the study and office of the poet by reason of its usefulness to mankind when wild beasts, stones, and trees are charmed by its sound and squalid Charon, rough Pluto, beastly Hecate, cruel Cerberus, and the horrible furies were tamed by the melodies of Orpheus?[55]

Then to what appears to be an exclusively rhetorical treatment of the third branch of letters he adds a peroration designed especially for the ears of his Florentine audience: 'But if the divine poetic art is rarely and heavenly conceded as a gift of the gods to a few most purified and most excellent geniuses, if its delight and pleasure dominates and rules the souls of mankind, if high utility conjoined with high knowledge of every great thing prevails over every human convenience, if not only

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oratio quantum Ovidii Medea aut Thyestes Vari celebrabatur. Neque iniuria. Nam si musico studio, quod aurium solum est, excellentes quidam viri tam percupide serviere, quanto magis carmina poetarum non aurium tantum sed etiam animorum nostrorum perfectam musicem debemus tota mente percipere? cum praesertim ex gravissimis poetarum sententiis, praeceptisque sanctissimis cum summa delectatione utilitatem quam maximam referamus?' Cf. Marsilio Ficino's *Epistola de divino furore* of 1 December 1457 (*Opera*, I, 614): 'Hanc Plato graviorem musicam poesimque nominat, efficassimam harmoniae coelestis imatricem, nam levior illa, de qua paulo ante mentionem fecimus, vocum duntaxat suavitate permulcet, poesis autem, quod divinae quoque harmoniae proprium est, vocum atque motuum numeris gravissimos quosdam, et ut Poeta diceret, delphicos sensus ardentius exprimit, quo fit, ut non solum auribus blandiatur, verum etiam suavissimum, et ambrosiae coelestis similimum menti pabulum afferat, ideoque ad divinitatem proprius accedere videatur.'

[54] 43 Aug., f. 162; 7227 sigg. c6^{v}–c7^{r}: 'Praeterea quot in locis de virtutibus, de vitiis, de humanis affectibus, de inferis, de superis, de rerum omnium creationibus, et naturis vates ipsi elegantissime tractaverunt.'

[55] 43 Aug., ff. 162^{v}–164^{v}; 7227 sig. c7^{r}–c8^{v}.

peoples and cities and princes and inhabitants of heaven delight in it but wild and enraged beasts venerate it, you also, men of Florence, always thought to be the most humane of all, should undertake with high zeal and ardor to embrace and honor the poetic art lest alone of all you should seem to have neglected the sweetest muses, foster-daughters of this city. Thus our citizens should show honor to Dante and Petrarca in this city's own name, so that not for any other things so much as for the ingenious and admired poetic art of its bards this our flourishing city may be most celebrated and most commended in the future among all peoples and nations in all eternity.'[56]

The oration of the next year, 1486, and the fifth of the whole series, was an equally rhetorical encomium of *sapientia*, and itself an exercise in that fifth and more controversial of the *studia humanitatis*, moral philosophy. That della Fonte was consciously engaged in something like a programmatic consideration of all of the branches of humanistic study seems indicated by his opening. 'Since in my previous orations I have separately extolled the oratorical, the historical, and the poetic capacities, and indeed conjointly all the most right arts together, I have considered what on this day I might speak about that would not be alien to my office. . . . I speak then what most briefly I am able to say concerning wisdom, the understanding of all things which are most honorable and excellent by nature, by which alone men are truly wise and by heavenly inspiration understand themselves.'[57]

The fatherland of *sapientia*, that quality so much praised by the hu-

[56] 43 Aug., ff. 164^{v}–165^{r}; 7227 sig. c8^{v}–d1^{r}: 'Verum si divina poetice raro caelitus paucis purgatissimis excelentissimisque ingeniis munere deorum concessa est. Si eius oblectatio et voluptas animis hominum dominatur et imperat. Si summa utilitas cum summa omnium magnarum rerum cognitione coniuncta omnem humanam commoditatem exuperat. Si non populi modo et urbes et principes et caelites eam diligunt, sed etiam ferae immites et furiae venerantur, Vos quoque Florentini viri omnium semper humanissimi habiti summo studio et ardore animi ad poeticam complectandam honestandamque innitimini, ne soli ex omnibus neglexisse suavissimas musas huius urbis alumnas videamini. Quae ita Dantem, Petrarchamque cives nostros suo numine ornaverunt, nullis ut aliis tantum de rebus quantum eorum vatum ingeniis admirandisque poematis nostra haec florentissima civitas apud omnes gentes et nationes in omnem aeternitatem celebratissima sit commendatissimaque futura.'

[57] 43 Aug., f. 165; 7227 sig. d1^{v}: 'Superioribus meis orationibus cum seiunctim oratoriam facultatem, historiamque ac poeticen, coniunctim vero cunctas rectissimas artis concelebrarim, saepe mecum cogitavi, quid hodierna die ab officio meo non alienum possem referre. . . . Dicam enim et dicam quae brevissime potero de Sapientia rerum omnium intellectu, quae honoratissime ac praestantissime sunt natura, qua sola homines vere sapiunt et caelestia numina se percipiunt.'

manists[58] and essentially different from *scientia*, is not in any one city but is in whatever we discern through the eyes or contemplate with the soul; it is wherever eternal minds ('sempiternae mentes') may be brought to bear on the sublime heavens, the air, or our own humble affairs. The true fatherland of wisdom is in the mind of God Himself, the author and supreme maker of all. 'Surely wisdom itself is not of human origin but divine because nothing in God is not a participant in the divine condition.'[59] 'Because of divine wisdom God knows not only Himself but his reason and essence also and whether present, past, or future. These perpetual designs ('exemplaria') of things He holds in the divine mind and He places his very essence among the forms in the middle of the mind, and as if some most absolute artisan He perfects this most ornate world and whatever things are in it by an admirable process ('ratione'). From this essence both power and order and multitude and variety of all things emanate. Of these some are so separated from matter that they can only be known by the sharpness of the mind, some are so conjoined with matter that they are immediately perceived by sense itself, and many are partly separated and partly joined and so spaced from each other by degrees of perfection that now they are surpassed, now surpass. Wisdom itself with the divine mind perceives these so many, so various, so elegantly disposed and collocated natures and produces them by ineffable art and governs them when produced.'[60] 'But this provident capacity of generation ('generatrix') of all things, as if it were not sufficient to govern celestially, fallen to us by a magnificent gift of God, dwells in

[58] Cf. Eugene F. Rice, Jr.'s recent book, *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), especially chapters 2 and 3. Rice does not refer to this oration of della Fonte's but intends only to be representative.

[59] 43 Aug., f. 166^{r}; 7227 sig. d2^{r}: '. . . ipsa profecto non humani est generis sed divini, quoniam nihil in deo est divinae conditionis non particeps.'

[60] 43 Aug., ff. 166^{v}–167^{r}; 7227 sig. d2^{v}–d3^{r}: 'Hanc propter non se tantum, sed rationem quoque suam deus, essentiamque intelligit neque secus quam presentia, praeterita, et futura cognoscit. Haec rerum perpetua exemplaria in divinam mentem coegit, seque ipsam inter formas, mentemque mediam collocavit, ac tanquam artifex quaedam absolutissima ornatissimum hunc mundum et quaecunque in eo sunt admirabili ratione perfecit. Ab hac essentia et potestas et ordo et multitudo et varietas rerum amnium emanavit. Quarum nonnullae sunt a materia ita disiunctae ut solo mentis acumine cognoscantur; quaedam ita coniunctae ut ipso statim sensu percipiantur; pleraeque ita partim semotae, partim connexae, atque ita gradibus inter se perfectionis distantes ut modo superentur modo exuperent (43 Aug. exuperentur). Has tam multas, tam varias, tam eleganter dispositas, collocatasque naturas ipsa sapientia cum divina mente percepit et ineffabili arte produxit, gubernatque productas.' This passage obviously reflects the influence of Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonist philosophy, but Fontius, as will be seen, was more of an eclectic than a devotee of one view.

our minds also. . . . Entering into docile souls and removing madness, fear, greed, lust, and ignorance, it imbued them for the first time with the best morals. Then it taught them how to manage private affairs. Afterwards having assembled men in one place it founded the city and furnished public life with constitutions, laws, courts, arts, and every method of living well. From this capacity the elements of literature, from it the songs of most sacred prophets, from it the faculty of persuading developed. This alone drove the human soul to the contemplation of the nature of things in that order in which the divine mind itself had procreated them from the beginning. . . . O wisdom, to be admired and embraced by you most humane men, whose gifts and powers you may discern are so great that nothing is so high, so middling, so low that it did not with God produce and most wisely preserve them.'[61]

Turning from this encomium of the gifts of wisdom to human civilization and taking up the more immediate needs of the supposed wise, he added: 'But when you have examined the most noble fatherland and the immortal origin of wisdom, and when you know how much it avails in divine and human affairs, it remains, prefects of learning, that you do not neglect wisdom's professors who day and night watch over the education of this distinguished Florentine youth and the instruction of your own children and grandchildren. These professors you ought to treat with greater munificence so that you will give hope of honors and prizes to those also who have not yet ascended to this most illustrious place.'[62] For what greater thing can be conferred than knowledge and

[61] 43 Aug., f. 167; 7227 sig. d3: 'Verum haec provida rerum omnium generatrix quasi non satis esset gubernare caelestia, magnificentissimo dei munere ad nos delapsa, mentes quoque nostras incoluit. . . . Quae dociles ingressa animos furore, metu, cupiditate, libidine, ignorantiaque remota in primis moribus optimis eos imbuit. Deinde rem ipsam familiarem curare docuit. Postea in unum locum coactis hominibus civitatem constituit, remque publicam institutis, legibus, iudiciis, artibus, omnique bene vivendi ratione munivit. Ab hac litterarum erudimenta, ab hac vatum sanctissimorum carmina, ab hac facultas persuadendi emanavit. Haec sola humanum animum compulit ad rerum naturas eo ordine contemplandas quo cum mente divina eas ab initio procreaverat. . . . O admirandam et a vobis humanissimi viri complectendam sapientiam, cuius tantas opes et vires cernitis, ut nihil tam sit summum, tam mediocre, tam infima, quod non illa cum deo produxerit et sapientissime conservaverit.'

[62] 43 Aug., ff. 167^{v}–168^{r}; 7227 sig. d3^{v}: 'Caeterum quando nobilissimam patriam et immortale genus sapientiae prospexistis, quantumque in divinis humanisque rebus valeat cognovistis, reliquum est, litterarii praefecti, ut eius professores, qui pro hac egregia iuventute florentina erudienda, proque liberis et nepotibus vestris instituendis dies noctesque invigilant, non negligatis. Quos vel ex eo debetis pro vestra humanitate atque prudentia tractare munificentius ut illis etiam qui nondum hunc locum ornatissimum ascenderunt maiorem spem detis et honorum et praemiorum.'

wisdom? Wealth rests in the hands of fortune, not in our counsels; kingdoms and powers also are gifts of chance; magistracies and honors stick to us only if we have virtue and knowledge; beauty and strength are from nature and but brief and fragile; pleasures of the body are the desires of cattle, not of men. 'Although if we would seek a virtuous pleasure, immortal gods, how great sweetness, how great joy, how great pleasure always fills the soul of the contemplative. . . . Since divine wisdom alone excels, what richer thing should we seek, what more powerful, what more honorable, what more beautiful, what more pleasurable? Wisdom is not in the arrogance of fortune, as riches and honors and powers. Wisdom is not in the necessity of nature, as distinguished appearance and health. Wisdom is not in the dominion of another, as other mortal things, but located in our own free will. Wisdom inheres in the souls of those who prudently and bravely carry on life, and it renders them happy and most blest.'[63]

Bartolommeo's moral philosophy, as illustrated in the above oration, is in no way distinguished but fairly typical of the humanists' echoing of the Senecan, Ciceronian veneration of the 'wise' man or sage. But it is clear that he was not in any pure sense a Stoic, for he spoke in the Neoplatonic terms made fashionable in his time of the source and nature of wisdom. On the other hand, more like the humanist followers of Aristotle of the early and mid-fifteenth century, he strongly emphasized the service to mankind and civilization of this quality, which he presumes to be part of the humanist's stock in trade.[64] He was a protégé of the Aristotelian Donato Acciaiuoli, a correspondent of Ficino, a colleague of Landino. All in all, as a rhetorician and philologist he was nicely eclectic and not at all a strict adherent to any one philosophical school.

Returning now to the *Oration on the Good Arts* of 1484, 'good arts' may be taken to mean the 'liberal' arts generally, for he covers in this oration not only the humanistic studies of grammar, poetry, oratory,

[63] 43 Aug., f. 168; 7227 sigg. $d3^{v}$–$d4^{v}$: 'Quanquam si honestam expetimus voluptas, quanta dii immortales suavitas, quantum gaudium, quanta iocunditas insidet semper animo contemplanti. . . . Quod cum divina sapientia sola praestet, quid divitius, quid potentius, quid honestius, quid formosius, quid voluptuosius ea quaerimus? Sapientia non in temeritate fortunae, ut opes et honores et potestates. Sapientia non in naturae necessitate, ut egregia forma et valitudo. Sapientia non in alieno dominio, ut mortalia caetera. Sed in nostra libera voluntate locata est. Sapientia quorum animis haeret, vita prudenter fortiterque peracta reddit eos felices et perbeatos.'

[64] Cf. Rice's discussion of wisdom and the active life, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–49. Note echoes of Cicero's views in *De inventione* II, ii, 2 in this oration, particularly in the passage in note 63 above.

and history but also philosophy, of which the humanistic study of moral philosophy is only one part. Beginning with grammar, he declares it the royal road to all other arts and studies because it contains the foundations of an understanding of them. Referring to the rival university subjects, he asks: 'What do the faculties of the physicians, the jurisconsults, or the philosophers have in themselves that is distinguished, excellent, delightful unless they are embellished by this learned companion? It is indeed the peculiar and greatest praise of this art that without it the sublimer sciences cannot exist, but this is perfected in itself. . . . Moreover this profession of grammarian, which some disdain as trivial and weak, embraces far more within itself than appears from without, for it contains the science of speaking correctly, and knowledge of the poets and the historians, as well as the signification of words, and not without a consideration of philosophy in very many places in the poets.'[65] Thus it would seem as if grammar itself contained all of the branches of the *studia humanitatis*; and, as will emerge, Fontius does seem to blend these various branches, moving toward the modern discipline of literature, *studia litterarum*.

Moving on to poetry, he calls it as above a 'divine madness driving pure minds to transcribe the truth in sounding numbers by an appro-

[65] 43 Aug., f. 154; 7227 sig. b7: 'Quid vero praeclarum quid excellens, quid delectabile in se habet aut medicorum, aut iurisconsultorum, aut philosophorum facultas, nisi hac erudita comite exornetur? Est quidem huius artis peculiaris ac maxima laus quod sine hac scientiae sublimiores non possunt consistere, haec autem in se sola perficiatur. . . . Haec autem grammatices professio, quam non nulli ut ieiunam tenuemque fastidiunt, multo plus intra se quam foris ostendat complectitur. Nam et recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum et historiarum cognitionem et verborum interpretationem continet non sine philosophiae in plurimis poetarum locis inspectione.' This oration of Fontius', as well as the next one discussed, may be compared with earlier humanists' discussions of the superiority of one or another profession or discipline. Cf. especially Salutati's *Tractatus de nobilitate legum et medicinae*, ed. Eugenio Garin (Firenze, 1947), and the works discussed by Lynn Thorndike, 'Medicine Versus Law at Florence', ch. II of *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century* (New York, 1929), and by Eugenio Garin, *La disputa delle arti nel quattrocento* (Firenze, 1947). A contemporary humanist inaugural oration on this theme is Filippo Beroaldo senior, *Declamatio philosophi, medici, et oratoris* (*Opuscula varia*, Basel, 1513), which, like Fontius, favors the humanistic study. Codrus' 13th 'sermon' (*op. cit.*, sigg. Q2^{v} ff.) is 'In laudem liberalium artium'. This and Fontius' oration may also be compared with medieval attempts to define and classify the liberal arts, reconciling the traditional *trivia* and *quadrivia* with the various faculties of the medieval universities. Fontius seems here to reclassify the arts so as to make them conform to the *studia humanitatis* and also to subordinate medicine, law, and theology to the general heading of philosophy, which was in part one of the root humanistic studies. Cf. the diagram of his scheme in note 77 below. For medieval schema cf. Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II (Berlin, 1957), ch. ii, 'Ungedruckte Wissenschafteinteilungen und Wissenschaftslehren' and the literature there cited.

priate image'.[66] It began with the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Greeks in the form of religious prophecy and prayer. 'For when the first men instructed in milder ways of living began to assemble in a community, some most excellent man considered that no humanity could endure very long without the influence of divine religion. And so having contemplated by his own immortal genius the admirable works of nature, he came to believe that there is some one ruler of this world whom he himself both worshiped and taught others to adore. Solemnly addressing Him not in the common and vulgar speech which he used to men, he prayed to the divine power in a certain metrical harmony. Afterward others who followed in all, as is the custom, not only sang in greatly increasing praise of the higher powers, but also responded in song to those consulting the gods and wrote poems concerning the inhabitants of heaven.'[67] Thus Job, Moses, and Jeremiah among the Hebrews, Orpheus in Thrace, Linus, Amphion, and Musaeus in Greece all flourished as distinguished theological poets. So all whom the divine madness inspires are called prophets. Afterwards Homer addressed poetry to men, but still also much to the gods. Then poets turned to kings, wars, fables, loves, and other themes. 'But although the creators of heroic and celestial matters must truly be called poets, nevertheless there is great utility and delight in poetry either for the sake of speaking elegantly or for blessedly and happily living.'[68]

Turning to the art of rhetoric he will say a few things: 'without this the other disciplines appear speechless and mute. For indeed I believe that there is no learning which shows more how much man excels the beasts and silent creatures than this by which we are able to speak aptly, distinctly, and ornately. . . . I say that he was an earthly god who first by

[66] 43 Aug., f. 154^{v}; 7227 sig. b7^{v}: 'divinus furor puras mentes ad verum sonantibus numeris describendum decoro figmento impelles'.

[67] 43 Aug., f. 155; 7227 sig. b8: 'Nam cum primi homines mitiorem vitam edocti in unum cogere se coeperunt, vir quidam excellentissimus cogitavit nullam humanitatem sine divinae religionis affectu durare posse diutius. Itaque suo ingenio immortali admirabilia naturae opera contemplatus unum aliquem esse censuit mundi huius moderatorem, quem et ipse primus incoluit et caeteris adorandum institutit. Huic solennia vota persolvens non communi ac vulgata oratione, qua ad homines utebatur, sed numerosa quodam concentu divina numina precabatur. Caeteri postea subsecuti omnia (ut solet) in maius adaugentes non solum laudes superis cecinerunt, sed deos consulentibus etiam carmine responderunt, poemata quoque ad caelites pertinentia conscripserunt.'

[68] 43 Aug., f. 155^{v}; 7227 sig. b8^{v}: 'Sed quamquam heroicarum rerum coelestiumque fictores vere tantum poetae dicendi sunt, omnium tamen utilitas et delectatio magna est, vel ad eleganter dicendum vel ad beate feliciterque vivendum.'

composing a speech persuaded men who were themselves previously uncultured to cultivate justice, to serve piety, to retain fortitude, to guard modesty. It was undoubtedly a great thing and worthy of every kind of praise by suavity of speech to compel rustic and wild men who were superior in force and strength of body to give up the most violent custom and let themselves become the equals of inferiors. See how many seditions have been suppressed, how many conspiracies extinguished, how many hostile wars composed, how many wild tribes and nations pacified by the power of oratory.' Among others he cites as examples Pericles and the Athenians, Marcus Valerius and the seceding plebs, Cicero's prosecution of Catiline.[69]

In this oration history is again considered as one of the *studia humanitatis*, but this time, as was more usual with Roman, medieval, and humanist discussions of the arts,[70] Fontius considers history as a subdivision of rhetoric. 'From this [rhetoric] we may gain images of the bravest and best men expressed in letters ('litteris') by historians for the sake of imitation. For history is a large part of the art of rhetoric, and although it is not ordinarily expressed through the principles of the orators ('rhetors'), still it emanates from them in such a way, and so depends on them, that, lacking this art of speech itself, history would appear crude and feeble. For the historians take over from the teachings of the orators the method of combining words, the character of a speech flowing with a certain smoothness and equality, vigor and sharpness, the order of things and times, and the expectation of counsels and actions and events. . . . But having briefly explained these matters concerning rhetoric, we end with what is the ultimate of our exposition, philosophy, the great gift of the gods.'[71]

[69] 43 Aug., f. 156; 7227 sig. c1: 'Nam equidem si existimo nullam esse doctrinam quae magis ostendat quantum homo bestiis et mutis animantibus praestet, quam haec, qua loqui apte, distincte, ornateque valemus. . . . Deus inquam in terris ille fuit qui primus composita oratione iustitiam colere, pietatem servare, fortitudinem retinere, pudicitiam custodire prioribus ipsis incultis hominibus persuasit. Magna nimirum res et omni laudum genere digna fuit agrestes et feros homines suavitate dicendi compellere ut qui superiores vi et robore corporis essent posthabita violentissima consuetudine se inferioribus adaequarent. Age vero quot seditiones compressae, quot coniurationes extinctae, quot hostilia bella composita, quot ferae gentes et nationes vi sunt orationis pacatae.' Cf. Cicero, *De inventione*, I, ii, 3: 'Profecto nemo nisi gravi ac suavi commotus oratione, cum viribus plurimum posset, ad ius voluisset sine vi descendere, ut inter quos posset excellere, cum eis se pateretur aequari et sua voluntate a iucundissima consuetudines recederet quae praesertim iam naturae vim obtineret propter vetustatem.'

[70] Cf. Beatrice Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 473–478.

[71] 43 Aug., f. 157r; 7227 sigg. c1v–c2r: 'Ab hac imagines fortissimorum atque optimo-

In discussing philosophy he is less rhetorical and more explicit in his definitions. Adapting Cicero's definition of wisdom to his own purposes, he calls philosophy 'the knowledge of human and divine things, and the constant investigation of natures by opinion and science'.[72] It is opinion when the matter hides in uncertainty and is defined by no firm reason, science when the matter is perceived by some certain reason. Moreover, philosophy is divided into three parts: rational, moral, and speculative. Rational philosophy is the power of seeking and defining and distinguishing the true from the false—in other words dialectic or logic, although Fontius does not so name it. Moral philosophy consists entirely in action ('tota in actione') and is in its turn divided into three parts. 'Personal ('propria') philosophy instructs man himself and teaches the morals of man in the best manner. Domestic philosophy disposes of the home and family. Civil philosophy moderates and rules the city.'[73] All moral philosophy is perfected by the four cardinal virtues. Prudence, the judge of generated and mutable things, is seated in supervision over mortal affairs. Included within it are reason, understanding, circumspection, providence, docility, and caution. Fortitude, placed between fear and audacity, generates magnanimity, confidence, endurance, and firmness. Temperance is certainly a mean between pleasures and sorrows; modesty, reverence, thrift, abstinence, shame, and respectability follow after it. Justice, indeed, is to render to each what is his due; from it come innocence, friendship, concord, piety, religion, and humanity. 'Subject to it is the profession of the jurisconsult which, embracing law

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rum virorum litteris per historicos eleganter expressas ad imitandum assumimus. Est enim historia magna pars facultatis rhetoricae, quae licet separatim non sit expressa rhetorum praeceptionibus, ita tamen ab eis emanat atque dependet, ut sine hac ipsa dicendi arte inculta et rudis et debilis videatur. Veroborum enim contexendorum rationem, et genus orationis cum lenitate quadam aequali profluens, et concionum nervos atque acumen, et rerum ac temporum ordinem, et consiliorum actorumque et eventuum expectationem ex oratoriis disciplinis sumunt historici. . . . Sed his breviter de rhetorice explicatis, quod est ultimam nostrae narrationis philosophiam donum ingens deorum absolvamus.'

[72] 43 Aug., f. 157; 7227 sig. c2[r]: 'Est autem philosophia humanarum divinarumque rerum cognitio, naturarumque inquisitio constans opinione atque scientia.' Eugene Rice, *op. cit.*, especially p. 39 and n. 32, makes much of the humanist variations on a Ciceronian theme in the definition of wisdom. Fontius defines 'philosophy' in the same language, which suggests again that his oration on widsom, discussed above, was intended to cover another large area of the humanist's disciplinary concern. See below in this present oration how much of 'philosophy' he makes the concern of the humanist also. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, IV, xxvii, 57: 'sapientiam esse rerum divinarum et humanarum scientiam cognitionemque, quae cuiusque rei causa sit'.

[73] 43 Aug., f. 157[v]; 7227 sig. c2: 'Propria virum ipsum, moresque viri optime instruit. Domestica domum familiamque disponit. Civilis civitatem moderatur ac regit.'

and equity, and having become important and practised widely, affecting many, is held in high honor.'[74]

Speculative philosophy is also divided into three parts. 'Natural philosophy considers whatever things are almost immersed in matter such as the four elements and whatever bodies are made and composed from them. The art of medicine is subject to it; this faculty comprehends both the diseases and the knowledge of their hidden causes, then of symptoms and after this of natural actions, and finally it requires knowledge of the interior parts. This art, first invented by Apollo, then celebrated by his son Aesculapius, soon made illustrious by Podalirius and Machaon at the time of the Trojan War, and finally perfected by Hippocrates, had most distinguished professors among the Greeks and Latins as well as the barbarians. Supernatural philosophy, furthermore, considering substances separated from matter itself, is claimed by theology, by which we contemplate those things surpassing the visible such as the divine and celestial. Disciplinal philosophy concerns itself with what can be partly separated and partly not separated from matter. There are four parts of this: arithmetic, which originated with the Phoenicians, comprehends numbers; geometry, invented by the Egyptians, contains dimensions. And music having its beginning with the same Egyptians, whence Pythagoras assumed it, is a certain measuring of voice and sound with constancy of perfect modulation. Astrology, which was first founded by the Chaldaeans, then expounded by the Egyptians, embraces the heavens and the stars.'[75]

[74] 43 Aug., ff. 157^{v}–158^{r}; 7227 sig. c2^{v}–c3^{r}: 'Huic subiacet iruisconsultorum facultas, quae legum aequitatem complectens et magna existens et late patens et ad multos pertinens summo in honore habetur.'

[75] 43 Aug., f. 158; 7227 sig. c3: 'Naturalis quae immersa penitus in materia sunt, ut quattuor rerum elementa, quaeque ex his corpora constant et componuntur considerat. Huic ars medicinae subest, quae abditarum et morbos continentiam causarum notitiam, deinde evidentium, posthaec etiam naturalium actionum, novissime partium interiorum scientiam requiret. Quae quidem facultas ab Apolline primum inventa, deinde ab eius filio Aesculapio celebrata, mox a Podalirio et Machaone troiani belli temporibus illustrata, ab Hippocrate demum perfecta apud Graecos, Latinosque ac barbaros clarissimos habuit professores. Supernaturalis autem substantias ab ipsa materia separatas considerans theologiam sibi vendicat, qua supergressi visibilia, de divinis et caelestibus contemplamur. Disciplinalis vero his intendit, quae partim seiungi partim etiam non disiungi a materia possunt. Cuius quattuor sunt partes: Arithmetica, quae a Phoenicibus orta numeros comprehendit; Geometria, quae ab Aegyptiis adinventa dimensiones continet; Musicamque ab eisdem Aegyptiis, unde Pythagoras assumpsit, principium trahens est vocis ac soni certa dimensio cum constantia perfectae modulationis; Astrologia, quae a Chaldaeis primo comperta, deinde ab Aegyptiis edita caelum ac stellas complectitur.'

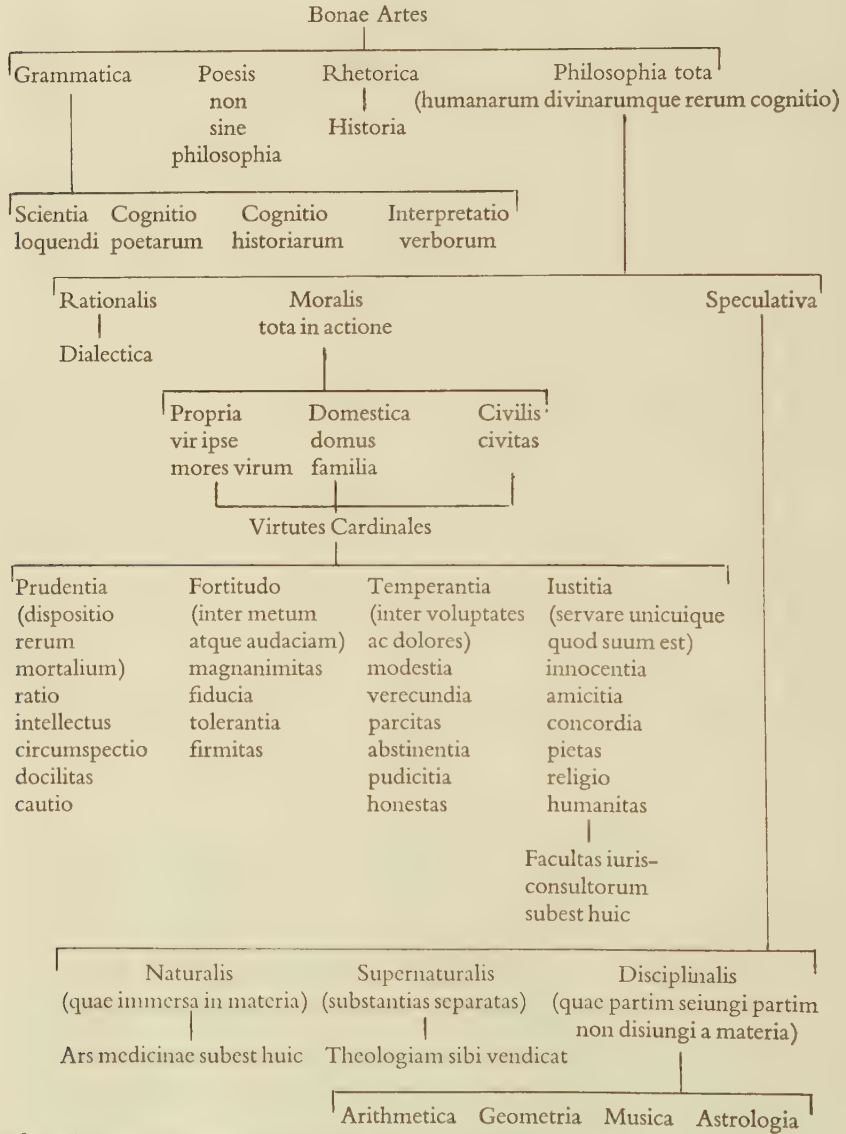
Plato first rendered these scattered parts of philosophy into one body and whole animal. 'For Zeno and all the Eleatic school studied rational philosophy only. Lycurgus, indeed, and Pittacus and Periander and Solon wrote concerning the government of communities of men. Moreover, Thales and Anaximenes and Anaxagoras considered natural things. Then Plato, born after all of these, a man outstanding by nature and truly divinely sent, left no part of philosophy unperfected, but, diligently embracing all, neither lacked in necessary matters nor fell into the useless. Indeed he, together with almost all Greek philosophers, received the foundations of the whole of philosophy from the Hebrews and transferred them to the Greeks.' Passing from this tribute to the hero of Florentine Neoplatonism to the praise of philosophy in general, he adds: 'Philosophy, moreover, as the master and leader of our life, keeps far from and excludes ambition, avarice, lust, envy, and the other iniquities of souls. Philosophy, having investigated the good arts and the sciences and virtues with the greatest zeal and diligence, always rightly counsels human life. For it invents the very laws and rights and teaches the good arts. It establishes the discipline of right living. It inquires into all things above, below, first, last, middle.'[76]

That della Fonte regards the moral and civil utility of philosophy as one of the five studies of the humanist seems clear from this treatment, which parallels what he had to say about *sapientia* in the oration previously discussed. Summarizing what he had covered in this present oration he again indicates history as subordinate to rhetoric, unlike his extensive and careful treatment of history in the oration of 1482. 'I have shown, as far as my mediocrity permits, what grammar, what poetry, what rhetoric, in which is history, what philosophy as a whole, within

[76] 43 Aug., f. 159; 7227 sigg. $c3^{v}$–$c4^{r}$: 'Zeno enim et omnis Eleatica disciplina rationali solummodo studuit. Lycurgus vero et Pittacus et Periander et Solon de gubernandis hominum coetibus conscripserunt. Thales autem et Anaximenes atque Anaxagoras de naturalibus rebus considerarunt. Plato deinde post hos omnes natus vir natura praestans et vere divinitus missus nullam partem philosophiae imperfectam reliquit. Sed omnes diligenter complexus nec in necessariis defuit, nec ad inutilia delapsus est. Ipse quidem caeterique fere omnes graecorum philosophi ab Hebraeis fundamenta totius philosophiae acceperunt, ad Graecosque transfuderunt. Philosophia autem vitae nostrae magistra et dux ambitionem, avaritiam, libidinem, invidiam, caeteraque animorum iniquinamenta longe fugat atque excludit. Philosophia bonas artis et scientias et virtutes summo studio et diligentia indagata humanae semper vitae recte consuluit. Ipsa enim leges ac iura invenit. Ipsa bonos mores edocuit. Ipsa rectam vivendi disciplinam instituit. Ipsa omnia, supera, infera, prima, ultima media inquisivit.'

which is the science of law and of medicine, contains.'[77] Alongside of

[77] 43 Aug., f. 159[v]; 7227 sig. c4[r]: 'Ostendi quantum mediocritas mea tulit, quid grammatice, quid poetice, quid rhetorice, in qua historia, quid philosophia tota, in qua iuris et medicinae scientia inest, in se contineat.' Della Fonte's division of the arts may be diagrammed as follows:



Cf. Grabmann's diagram of Radulfus de Longo Campo's division of the sciences, *op. cit.*, II, 52, note 1.

the humanist, such as himself, who worked in the disciplines of grammar, poetry, and rhetoric with its sub-branch of history, he recognized the legitimacy of law, medicine, and theology as professions or faculties growing out of philosophy, and probably also of logic and mathematics, which he does not mention. All these latter, however, are regarded as carrying on specialized functions dictated by these divisions of philosophy. The humanist, too, carried on the specialized function of moral philosopher, but this was really identical with the broad moral and civic ends of philosophy which are also reserved for the humanist.

This is borne out by his peroration addressed to 'You best youths, most beloved of my soul, who follow after me, this year expounding Silius, in undertaking your studies.' They have but two ways, one of vices below, one of virtues above, the one easy at first but hard later, the other hard at first but the fruits richer and pleasanter. 'Moreover nothing can lead you more safely and expeditiously to that goal than that you have come to know all, if you can, or at least some of those sciences which I have described. For thus rejecting all inert leisure, greed, and lust, and arriving at the rich fruit and maturity of life, you should hold fast to that method of living best which brings us the highest utility and perpetual dignity.'[78]

There seems thus to be involved in Bartolommeo's persistent defense of humanism in all its branches a tendency to uphold its general importance to the civic community and to the moral life of the individual. *Humanitas* could almost be made synonymous with *urbanitas* or *civilitas*. Each of the several *studia humanitatis* and all of them conjointly are presented as bringing into being a civilized community in place of a previously wild and rustic condition, and each in its own way contributes to the maintenance and preservation of the docility, concord, and humanity of that community, so that the 'good arts' or the liberal arts are in

[78] 43 Aug., ff. 159^{v}–160^{r}; 7227 sig. c4: 'Vos autem adolescentes optimi et animo meo charissimi, qui me Silium hoc anno interpretantem et vestris studiis incumbentem prosecuturi estis. . . . Nihil autem vos tutius atque expeditius ad eam potest perducere quam vel omnes si potestis, vel aliquam saltem earum scientiarum quas modo recensui cognovisse. Ita enim omni inerti ocio, cupiditate, libidineque reiecta ad bonam frugem et vitae maturitatem pervenientes, eam optime vivendi rationem tenebitis quae summam nobis utilitatem et perpetuam afferat dignitatem.' 7227 omits the phrase 'Silium hoc anno interpretantem et' which indicates the subject of his lectures for the year. Since Marchese, *op. cit.*, p. 56, used this incunabulum but not this manuscript, he lists this oration without a lecture subject and as has been seen, note 12 above, dates the oration as in 1482 rather than 1484, most probably an error, unless, of course, Fontius was inventing a subject and a date in committing the oration to this manuscript copy.

reality the arts of civilization. That many persons today continue to defend the importance of the 'humanities' and the liberal arts as the major educational means of maintaining the decencies and civilities of modern life in an age of specialization should perhaps be mentioned.

All this is a prelude to the final oration of della Fonte *On Satire and on the Studia Humanitatis*. Skipping over the first part on satire which defends its moral value and, despite its obscenities, its religious legitimacy by citing Lactantius, Jerome, and Augustine,[79] we come to the main part of his oration, which is by far the most spirited and extravagant statement of the values of humanism he made. He begins: 'There have never been any well constituted cities or nations which have not cultivated the liberal arts with high energy. For, as I skip the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Greeks who were distinguished in developing all studies, our Italians also and the Romans were great in no one thing more than in the most virtuous and most righteous arts. But afterwards, depraved in morals, sunk into ruin by ambition, luxury, greed, lust, all the good arts declined with the Roman empire. But at length Italy, escaping from the most cruel hordes of barbarians, partly in the free cities, partly also under princes, began to rule and govern itself; little by little the right arts which lay in ruin for many centuries raised themselves up. But the first to be taught by appointed masters and doctors were medicine, which pertains to the cure of bodies, and legal science, for carrying on lawsuits and legal causes. For the sake of religion and faith philosophy also was cultivated in sacred convents. Only oratory and poetry lay ruined in squalor and darkness almost nine hundred years until the times of Dante and Petrarca.'[80]

Dante by his *Divina commedia* equaled all earlier prophetic poets, and

[79] 43 Aug., ff. 169^{r}–172^{v}; 7227 sigg. d5^{r}–d7^{v} contain the section on satire.

[80] 43 Aug., ff. 172^{v}–173^{r}; 7227 sig. d8^{r}: 'Nullae unquam bene institutae civitates ac nationes non summopere liberalia studia coluerunt. Nam ut ommitam aegyptios et assyrios graecosque omnium doctrinarum generibus claros, itali quoque nostri, romanique nulla re quondam fuere insignes magis quam honestissimis et rectissimis artibus. Sed posteaquam ambitione, luxuria, cupiditate, libidine moribus depravatis pessum iere, omnes quoque simul bonae artes cum romano imperio concidere. Verum italia tandem fugatis hostibus immanissimis barbaris, ex quo partim liberis civitatibus, partim etiam sub principibus regere ipsa se coepit ac moderari; paulatim se rectae artes, quae permulta saecula iacuerant, erexerunt. Sed in primis quae ad curationem corporum pertinet medicina, et ad lites et causa iuris scientia conductis magistris ac doctoribus legi ceptae. Religionis quoque ac fidei causa philosophia omnis in sacris conventibus culta est. Solae quidem oratoriae et poetice annos circiter (7227 circa) noningentos ad Dantis et Petrarchae tempora in squalore et tenebris iacuerunt.'

Petrarca excelled with his love poetry. But Petrarca made such an important beginning in 'this our humanity' that every humanist is in debt to him. Then these studies received the support of certain benign princes: Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, King Alfonso, and Cosimo de' Medici.[81] To these names used so repeatedly by della Fonte he now adds: 'Nor indeed should Pope Pius Piccolomini and Federigo of Urbino be defrauded of the praise due them as lovers of men of eloquence. But these illustrious lights of letters having been extinguished, that great ardor of the men of talent was partly burnt out. Although in this our flourishing city, as it began with the poet Dante, so also it has persevered to this day in cultivating our common studies. For after him Petrarca was very celebrated. To him succeeded Boccaccio, the ablest of all in his age. After him Coluccio Salutati had sufficient eloquence but much more learning and prudence. Thence Niccolo Niccoli, and if he wrote nothing, still a liberal and learned man he gave much help to many mortals for study and writing. Younger than these, Leonardo Bruni and Ambrogio [Traversari] the monk excelled in elegance and dignity of life. Afterward Carlo Marsuppini in public lectures and Poggio in openly and lucidly writing both flourished. Then Battista Alberti contributed certainly very much to our studies. Most recently Donato Acciaiuoli was distinguished both in speaking and writing. And indeed their modesty keeps me from mentioning certain living scholars. But they one day will be distinguished, nor will they be numbered among the least. Certainly these most educated and learned men have made this flowering fatherland illustrious through the entire world for the splendor of its name. For surely great and even greater utility and honor and glory than I am able to speak of redounds to the fatherland from eloquent men most excellent both in talent and learning. Therefore our ancestors, the wisest of mortals and most respectful toward these matters, founded this school of the good arts and elected annual officials from the priors and elders of the city so that with greater authority these our studies might be celebrated.'[82]

[81] 43 Aug., f. 173; 7227 sig. d8.

[82] 43 Aug., ff. 173^{v}–174^{r}; 7227 sigg. d8^{v}–e1^{r}: 'Neque vero Pius picolomineus pontifex et Federicus urbinas merita laude fraudari debent eloquentium hominum amatores. Sed extinctis his clarissimis litteratorum luminibus ardor ille ingeniorum magna ex parte consumptus est. Quanquam in hac nostra florentissima civitate ut a Dante poeta coepit, ita quoque ad hanc diem perseveratum est in studiis communibus excolendis. Nam post eum Petrarcha fuit percelebris. Cui successit Boccaccius aetatis suae facundissimus omnium. Post quem Coluccius Salutatus eloquentiae satis habuit, sed plus multo doctrinae atque

Such an illustrious example of aid to men of letters from the past should, of course, be emulated, and it is again 'fitting that you . . . aid scholars of humanity'.[83] Alluding to his own rivalry with Poliziano, which he was to continue in the very course of lectures on Juvenal this oration introduced, he argued that such competition among men of learning should be encouraged and should not stand in the way of increased support of scholars. 'For if any one should think from the dissensions of points of view which always exist among the scholars of these arts that their wills also are in conflict, he makes a serious mistake. For I, as I have never been the enemy of any one, so also I have never thought any one considered me an enemy other than disagreeing in opinion and point of view. In this matter it is far more useful and glorious to have had conflicts than to have lacked all emulation.'[84] They are no greater in number than they have been for the past six years (since 1481 when he was added to the faculty), but they have not become any less learned through practice. 'Since we are indeed celebrated by great praises through all peoples and nations, and we Florentines are thought to be the most eloquent of all, you ought to increase this constant and eternal future fame by providing a larger number of professors as well as by giving hope of the greatest honors and rewards to the others.'[85]

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prudentiae. Nicholaus deindi Nicoli etsi nihil scripsit, liberalis tamen et doctus vir multis mortalibus ad studia et litteras opem tulit. His natu minores Leonardus Brunus et Ambrosius monachus elegantia et vitae dignitate praestitere. Carolus postea Martiopinus publice profitendo et Poggius aperte dilucideque scribendo floruerunt. Baptista subinde Albertus plurimum certe contulit nostris studiis. Novissime Donatus Acciaiolus cum orando, tum scribendo insignis fuit. Quosdam vero viventium non patitur me referre eorum pudor. Sed clari olim erunt, neque in postremis numerabuntur. Hi sane doctissimi ac disertissimi homines hanc florentem patriam per omnem terrarum orbem fulgore sui nominis illustrarunt. Magna enim profecto atque adeo maior, quam dici queat utilitas et honestas et gloria ab eloquentibus viris et ingenio, doctrinaque excellentibus redundat in patriam. Quare maiores nostri mortales sapientissimi et erga hanc rem perpientissimi hoc bonarum artium gymnasium posuerunt et officiales annuos e primoribus urbis ac senioribus elegerunt, ut maiore auctoritate studia haec nostra celebrarentur.'

[83] 43 Aug., f. 174^{v}; 7227 sig. e1^{v}: 'decet vos . . . adiuvare studiosos humanitatis'.

[84] 43 Aug., ff. 174^{v}–175^{r}; 7227 sigg. e1^{v}–e2^{r}: 'Nam siquis ex opinionum dissensionibus, quae semper erunt inter earundem artium studiosos, existimat voluntates quoque eorum adversas esse, vehementer errat. Ego enim, ut nemini unquam sum adversatus, ita quoque nunquam putavi adversarium quempiam me habere praeterquam in referenda opinione atque sententia. Qua quidem in re et utilius multo fuit et gloriosius contendisse quam omino aemulis caruisse.'

[85] 43 Aug., f. 175^{r}; 7227 sig. e2^{r}: 'Cum vero per omnes gentes ac nationes magnis praeconiis celebremur, censeamurque Florentini eloquentissimi omnium, debetis hanc constantem et futuram famam vel maiore numero augere atque aliis spem praebere maximorum honorum et praemiorum.'

The humanities should be given even greater support than the other faculties (in Pisa). 'Nor indeed should any of you think that greater concern should be had for other arts than eloquence. For the other professions have definite limits beyond which their professors cannot move. For physicians are concerned with what pertains to preserving and restoring health; jurisconsults with what pertains to composing controversies. But we, wandering through all, embrace the study of all things, times, places, and men. For if any one would assert that a knowledge of historians, poets, and orators is our concern, I would indeed admit that our profession is more thoroughly trained in the interpretation of these. But still in explaining these very writings there are by far more and more excellent things than men not learned in our fields may see. For whatever orators and poets write concerning heaven and the stars, concerning higher as well as lower matters, concerning virtues and vices, on governing cities, and a thousand other subjects of that sort, all that it is necessary for us to explain in weighty and most refined speech accommodated to the senses of the audience. This we are not able to do without great knowledge of all subjects of study. But since we have to explain whatever thing happens notably, prudently, and elegantly, with a certain charm of manner even, who would not place us ahead of the teachers of the other arts?'[86] And with a final plea to the university officials to grant further funds to the humanities for the glory of the city and out of respect to its tradition he closed his oration.

This rather extensive survey of the public statements of one of the lesser humanists on the scope and value of his profession demands that, however briefly, we state our conclusions. Without any question Professor Kristeller is right in emphasizing the primarily rhetorical charac-

[86] 43 Aug., f. 175; 7227 sig. e2: 'Neque vero quisquam vestrum existimet maiorem curam habendam esse artium reliquarum quam eloquentiae. Nam caeterae facultates certos limites habent, quos ultra earum professores non spatiantur. Quae enim ad conservandam aut restituendam pertinent sanitatem procurant medici. Consulti iuris, quae ad controversias componendas. At nos per omnia evagantes omnium rerum scientiam temporum, locorum, hominumque complectimur. Nam siquis erit qui asserat ad nos spectare historiarum ac poetarum et oratorum cognitionem, fatebor equidem in his magis assidue versari nostram interpretandi professionem. Sed tamen in his ipsis explicandis multo plura et excellentiora sunt quam videant homines nostrarum artium imperiti. Quotiens enim de caelo ac stellis, de superis atque inferis, de virtutibus ac vitiis, de moderandis urbibus, deque mille id genus caeteris scribunt oratores ac poetae, totiens nos oportet oratione gravi et perpolita et audientium senibus accommodata ea exponere. Quae facere non valemus sine multa omnium doctrinarum cognitione. Verum quaecunque res inciderit, cum a nobis sit explicanda memoriter et prudenter et eleganter cum quadam actionis etiam venustate, quis non aliarum artium nos doctoribus anteferat?' Cf. note 65 above.

ter of humanism and the articulation of its ideas out of the basic five *studia humanitatis*. Although sometimes for Bartolommeo della Fonte grammar and eloquence seem to be two sides of a tent of literature ('litterae') beneath which dwell the sub-disciplines of oratory, poetry, history with moral philosophy involved in them all,[87] there is a clear relationship of his varying divisions to the conventional list of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy. It is to be noted that in practice grammar and rhetoric were the forms in which the professor of the humanities (of 'eloquence' or of 'poetry and oratory') analyzed what may be designated as four large branches of literature as they were derived from and found in ancient literary models, namely, the oratorical writings of Cicero or Isocrates or Demosthenes, the poetry of Latin and Greek authors, the historical writing of classical authors, and finally the very frequent prose essay or dialogue of the ancient writers of which Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, or his *De finibus*, or Seneca's numerous moral essays are representative and to which was not infrequently added Aristotle's *Ethics* or *Politics* or *Economica* or his *Rhetoric* or his *Poetics*. It points to the beginning of what we call 'classics' as a discipline.

It is further notable how Fontius claims for the professor of eloquence the need to know and expound everything that comes up in literature and hence to be concerned with what might be termed 'general philosophy' as distinguished from the special technical branches subserving the professions or faculties of medicine, law, and theology. While this might exclude except in a general way logic, mathematics, and natural philosophy, it would certainly include, besides the ethics and political theory common to the humanist, at least excursions into metaphysics and theology, although the humanist would be apt to approach these in a superficial, peripheral, and eclectic way.

Finally, and perhaps this illuminates the preceding point, the strongly utilitarian cast of della Fonte's arguments must be noted. While it would be natural for him to point out the value to the community of the study of eloquence in the course of arguing for greater support for his subject by the authorities and the general public, the extent and consistency of his plea and notion of the 'communication arts' as the pro-

[87] Cf. above p. 100 and 43 Aug., f. 145^{r}; 7227 sig. a7^{v}: 'Magnos inter fructus . . . quos affert humano generi facultas et eruditio litterarum, illum vel maximum censeo quod earum ope gestarum rerum memoria conservatur.' Cf. also above p. 108 and note 57, p. 112 and note 65, p. 123 and note 86 for instances where Fontius groups oratory, history, and poetry together, with moral philosophy pervading all three and as a separate branch of letters.

ducers and maintainers of civilization and good citizens goes far beyond his rhetorical necessities. This would tend to link him with Hans Baron's and Eugenio Garin's emphasis[88] on the civic character of humanism. Would it, on the other hand, be too much to suggest, rather, that as a teacher of youth he conceived of the humanist's rôle in a fashion similar to the ancient sophists, of whom he names Gorgias[89] and praises him for the extent of his knowledge? In addition his conception of the origins of the humanistic disciplines and their rôle as creators of civilization is remarkably close to the point of view attributed by Plato to Protagoras,[90] as well as to Cicero's, although Fontius nowhere in these orations mentions either the dialogue or the man. Whether or not there is anything more than a similarity here, it does suggest that della Fonte's claims to a kind of rhetorical preëmption of philosophy in a broad literary, moral, and civic sense has behind it this very ancient tradition of the sophists' claim to a monopoly of wisdom in their own day.

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[88] Fontius' civic-mindedness would not be an unexpected tendency in a pupil and protégé of Donato Acciaiuoli. On Baron see *The Crisis of the Early Renaissance* (Princeton, 1955), passim, as well as his many earlier articles on this theme. For Garin's view, *L'umanesimo italiano: filosofia e vita civile nel Rinascimento* (Bari, 1952) is most representative.

[89] See above p. 96 and note 24.

[90] Plato, *Protagoras* 320C ff. On the relation of humanism to sophism, cf. Werner Jaeger, *Paideia* (2nd ed., tr. Highet, New York, 1945), I, 297, 300–303, 312–313. Professor Kristeller also points to the connection with the sophists and cites Jaeger in his *Classics and Renaissance Thought*, pp. 11–12 and note 9.

APPENDIX I

THE WORKS OF BARTOLOMMEO DELLA FONTE, FROM FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE, COD. PALATINO CAPPONI 77, F. II^{v}

(Numeration added to correspond with works located in Appendix II; * indicates that work has not been located)

Bartholomei Fontii Opera

(1)	Commentarium in Persium Poetam ad Laurentium Medicem	Liber i
(2)	Commentarium in Valerium Flaccum	Libri viij
(3)	Epistolarum Libri tres	Libri iij
(4)	Thadeus sive de locis persianis ad Mactiam regem	Liber i^{s}
(5)	De locis iunianis	Liber i^{s}
(6)	De locis livianis	Liber i^{s}
*(7)	De rhetoricis locis	Liber i^{s}
*(8)	Principiorum et temporum	Libri viij
(9)	Donatus sive de poenitentia ad Julianum Medicem	Liber i^{s}
*(10)	Vita M. Tulii	
(11)	Vita Pauli Ghiacceti	
*(12)	Vita Johannis Vaivodae	
*(13)	Vita Sancti Johannis Ghualberti	
*(14)	Vita Petri Philippi Pandolphini	
*(15)	Oratio ad Mathiam Corvinum regem	
*(16)	Oratio in Cristophori Landini funere	
(17)	Oratio in eloquentiam	
(18)	Oratio in historiam	
(19)	Oratio in bonas artis	
(20)	Oratio in poeticem	
(21)	Oratio in sapientiam	
(22)	Oratio in satyram	
*(23)	Oratio de facultate et materia oratoris	
(24)	Oratio de studiis humanitatis	
*(25)	Oratio in sacras litteras	
*(26)	Oratio in obtrectatores studiorum humanitatis	
*(27)	Oratio in religiosos vituperatores humanitatis	
*(28)	Oratio de vocibus et litteris	
*(29)	Oratio de vera philosophia	
*(30)	Oratio de artium omnium inventione	
*(31)	Oratio de legendis auctoribus	
*(32)	Oratio de ornatu et figura dicendi	
*(33)	De poetice ad Laurentium Medicem	Libri iij
*(34)	De potentiis animae	Liber i^{s}

*(35) De potestate ecclesiastica — Liber i[a]
(36) Elegiarum libri duo — Libri ii
*(37) Brachiados liber unus — Liber i

E graeco translati

*(38) Phocylides
(39) Demostenes [*sic*] oratio in Aeschinem de mala legatione

Lingua rustica composita

(40) Sonettorum et cantionum poema — Libri iiij
*(41) De profetia hebraica — Libri ij
(42) De locis triumphorum petrarchae

In linguam rusticam translata

(43) Phalaridis epistolae
(44) Aristeas de Lxxij interpretibus
(45) Lucianus de Calumnia
*(46) Principiorum et temporum Libri viij
(47) Oratio Demosthenis ad alexandrum
*(48) Lucio Apuleo madaurense philosopho platonico de lo dio di Socrate

Composita in lingua rustica

*(49) Poema delle Idee non finito ne riveduto
*(50) Oratio in eucarista [*sic*]

Lasciate a Francesco di pier filippo pandolfini suo herede perche le inlustrassi

APPENDIX II

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF LOCATED WORKS OF BARTOLOMMEO DELLA FONTE

(Numbers correspond to those of Appendix I)

(1) *Commentarium in Persium Poetam ad Laurentium Medicem*

(a) Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pl. 54, Cod. 23 (A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurenzianae*, Florence, 1774–1778, II, 679; cited hereafter as *Bandini*). (b) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 666. (c) Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 292/φ388 (CCXXVIII) (S. Endlicher, *Catalogus codicum philologicorum latinorum Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis*, Vienna, 1836, p. 122). (d) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelferbytanus 43 Aug. Fol. ff. 15[v]–114[r], cited hereafter as *43 Aug.* (O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, 1884–1913, Zweite Abtheilung, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften*, 1895, III, 242–243). (e) Hain 7226, Stillwell F 217, Impressum Florentiae apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripolis, 1477. (f) There are at least 20 other incunabula editions, usually printed with the text of Persius, including some with other commentaries: H. 12719, St. P 302, Treviso, 1481; H. 12721, St. P 304, Venice, (Dec.) 1482; H. 12722, St. P 305, Venice, 1482; H. 12723, Milan, 1484; H. 12724, St. P 306,

Venice, 1484; H. 12725, St. P 307, Venice, 1485; H. 12726, St. P 309, Milan, 1490; H. 12727, s.l. 1481; H. 12729, Brescia, 1481, with the commentary of Brixianus; H. 12735, St. P 301, Venice, 1480, with Brixianus; H. 12739, St. P 317, Venice, 1495, with Brixianus; H. 12740, St. P 318, Venice, 1497, with Brixianus; H. 12741, Lyons, 1498, with Brixianus; H. 12742, Venice, 1492, with Brixianus; H. 12744, St. P 322, Venice, 1499, with Brixianus & Cornutus; Venice, 1480; Milan, 1480; St. P 303, Venice, (Mar.) 1482; Venice, 1494, with Brixianus. (g) *Opera exquisitissima Bartholomei Fontii Florentini*, edited by Georgius Remus from 43 Aug., Frankfurt, 1621 (cited hereafter as *Remus*), pp. 76–256.

(2) *Commentarium in Valerium Flaccum*

Although this work is unlocated, it is of interest that Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pl. 39, Cod. 36 (Bandini, II, 316), containing the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, was most probably copied by Bartolommeo della Fonte and includes marginal comments also most probably by him. Cf. Marchesi, pp. 137–139.

(3) *Epistolarum libri tres*

(a) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Palatino Capponi 77, ff. 1^{r}–36^{v}. (b) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 2382 (defective, lacking several folios). (c) *Epistolarum Libri III*, ed. L. Juhász, Budapest, 1931. See this and Kristeller's review (*Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, pp. 383–385) for other editions and locations of isolated letters of Fontius. Ep. III, 7, 'De mensuris et ponderibus', to Francesco Ricci, appeared frequently with the commentary on Persius, addressed to Francesco Sassetti. Cf. 43 Aug. ff. 114^{v}–118^{r}; H. 7226; Remus, pp. 257–263; and other editions of the commentary.

(4) *Thadeus sive de locis persianis ad Mathiam regem*

(a) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 1220, ff. 106^{v}–114^{r} (S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, Vol. I, Fasc. 1, 2, 3, Rome, 1893, p. 287; cited hereafter as *Morpurgo*). (b) 43 Aug., ff. 3^{r}–15^{r}. (c) Remus, pp. 6–28.

(5) *De locis iunianis* (i.e. D. *Iunius* Juvenalis)

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 1172, ff. 11^{r}–35^{r}, 'Adnotationes in Iuvenalem ad Laurentium Strozam' (Morpurgo, p. 220).

(6) *De locis livianis*

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 1172, ff. 1^{r}–9^{r}, 'Observationes in primum librum Livii de secondo bello punico' (Morpurgo, p. 219).

(8) *Principiorum et temporum libri viii*

Not located. Note, however, (46) 'In linguam rusticam translata', also unlocated. Note also below under Additional Works of Fontius items (A) and (B): 'Annales suorum temporum' and 'Liber Monumentorum Romanae Urbis et Aliorum Locorum'.

(9) *Donatus sive de poenitentia ad Julianum Medicem*

(a) 43 Aug., ff. 118^{v}–140^{v}. (b) Hain 7227, s.l.a., ff. $f2^{r}$–$f12^{v}$ (or $g4^{v}$?), *Orationes*. Copinger, I, 218, indicates Florence, apud S. J. de Ripolis, 1478, but it has to be 1488. There are also Hain 7228, Florence, 1477 apud S. J. de Ripolis, and Hain 7229, Florentia, 1487 per Antonium Franciscum Venetum—but both are necessarily 1488. All suc-

ceeding works listed in H. 7227 are also presumed to be in H. 7228 and H. 7229 without further citation. (c) Remus, pp. 264–287. (d) The following three triplet manuscripts ('Florilegia Humanistica') contain a variant version of this work with an expanded text and a different dedication to the Bishop of Strigonia: (i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D'Orville 59 (Western 16937), ff. 226^{v}–235^{r} (F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Oxford, 1895–1953, IV, 52–53). (ii) Perugia, Biblioteca Communale, Cod. 706 (I 100), ff. 289^{v}–301^{v} (G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, Forli etc., 1890–1901, V, 179). (iii) Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 13679, ff. 270^{v}–278^{v} (fragmentary at end, approximately one folio missing). Note item (F) below, 'Additional Works', for either an original *volgare* sermon on which this work is based, or a translation of it into Italian.

(11) *Vita Pauli Ghiacceti*

(a) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Magl. IX, 96 (# 5), 4 unnumbered folios: 'Pauli Ghiacceti Vita a Bartolommeo Fontio edita'. (b) 43 Aug., ff. 131^{r}–139^{r}. (c) H. 7227, sigg. e3^{r}–f1^{v}. (d) Remus, pp. 287–302.

(17) *Oratio in eloquentiam*

(a) 43 Aug., ff. 139^{v}–144^{v}. (b) H. 7227, ff. a2^{v}–a7^{r}. (c) Remus, pp. 303–313. This and items (18) through (24) (except 23) are the inaugural orations discussed in my paper above. See it and the notes for titles, dates, etc.

(18) *Oratio in historiam*

(a) 43 Aug., ff. 145^{r}–153^{r}. (b) H. 7227, sigg. a7^{v}–b6^{r}. (c) Remus, pp. 314–329.

(19) *Oratio in bonas artis*

(a) 43 Aug., ff. 153^{r}–160^{r}. (b) H. 7227, sigg. b6^{v}–c4^{v}. (c) Remus, pp. 329–342.

(20) *Oratio in poeticem*

(a) 43 Aug., ff. 160^{r}–165^{r}. (b) H. 7227, sigg. c5^{r}–d1^{r}. (c) Remus, pp. 343–352.

(21) *Oratio in sapientiam*

(a) 43 Aug., ff. 165^{r}–169^{r}. (b) H. 7227, sigg. d1^{v}–d4^{v}. (c) Remus, pp. 353–360.

(22) *Oratio in satyram* (delivered with (24) as one oration)

(a) 43 Aug., ff. 169^{r}–176^{r}. (b) H. 7227, sigg. d5^{r}–e2^{v}. (c) Remus, pp. 360–373.

(24) *Oratio de studiis humanitatis* (delivered with (22) as one oration)

(36) *Elegiarum libri duo*

(a) The first book only of Fontius' Latin poetry is assembled in 43 Aug., ff. 177^{r}–194^{r}. A second book has not been located. (b) Remus, pp. 374–413. In both places it is entitled 'Saxettus'. (c) A modern edition of this collection is: Bartholomaeus Fontius, *Carmina*, ed. Jos. Fógel et Lad. Juhász, Leipzig, 1932. This includes four additional poems found in Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pl. 90 sup., Cod. 37 (Bandini, III, 544) and in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. II, II, 62, already printed by Marchesi, pp. 43 ff. and in his (separately printed) *Appendice*, pp. XV ff. It does not include a fifth printed by Marchesi, *Appendice*, pp. XVIII ff. from II, II, 62, f. 137; a sixth from Magl. VII, 1039 printed by Bottiglioni, *La lirica latina a Firenze nella seconda metà del secolo XV*, Pisa, 1913, pp. 227 ff.; a seventh from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 931 re-

ported by Bottiglioni, p. 228; an eighth from Turin, Accademia delle Scienze, NN V 7, f. 26^{v}, printed by Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, p. 394. Cf. Kristeller's review of the Fógel-Juhász edition, *ibid.*, pp. 381–382.

E GRAECO TRANSLATI

(38) *Phocylides*

Although this translation into Latin is unlocated, it was sufficiently popular at the time of its rendition for three copies to be included in the fifteenth-century catalogue of the Pandolfini family library. Cf. Filippo Pandolfini, *Catalogo della Libreria Pandolfini* (Libreria Dante in Firenze, Num. 7, 1884), pp. 22–23, 23, 45.

(39) *Demosthenis oratio de mala legatione*

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Palatino Capponi 77, ff. 37^{r}–71^{r}. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 62 contains his commentaries on this oration. See item (E) under Additional Works of Fontius below.

LINGUA RUSTICA COMPOSITA

(40) *Sonettorum et cantionum poema libri iiii*

(a) Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Campori Appendice 2827 (Gamma N. 8, 1, 31) contains book one and part of book two. (b) Ludovico Frati, 'Rime inedite di Bartolommeo Fonzio', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* XLVII (1906), 287–295, discusses this manuscript and prints eleven poems from it. Marchesi, *op. cit.*, pp. 169–170 prinst two additional sonnets from Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett (ehemals Staatliche Museen), Cod. 78 C 26, f. 25. See below Appendix III on this manuscript.

(42) *De locis triumphorum Petrarchae*

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Ashburnham 768 (699), ff. 2^{r}–27^{v}. Now published in Appendix IV below.

IN LINGUAM RUSTICAM TRANSLATA

(43) *Phalaridis epistolae*

(a) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. II IX, 138. (b) Idem, Magl. VIII, 1269. (c) Idem, Magl. VIII, 1414. (d) Idem, Magl. VIII, 1426. (e) Idem, Palatino 39 (#4). (f) Idem, Palatino 761 (#1). (g) Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pl. 61, Cod. 9 (#2) (Bandini, V, 241). (h) Idem, Pl. 90 Inf., Cod. 53 (Bandini, V, 461; the Medici copy). (i) Idem, Pl. 90 Inf., Cod. 54 (Bandini, V, 462). (j) Idem, Palatino 121. (k) Idem, Cod. Gadd. 127. (l) Idem, Cod. Gadd. 133. (m) Idem, Cod. Gadd. 141. (n) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 1104 (ii) (Morpurgo, I, 122). (o) Idem, Cod. 1611 (Morpurgo, I, 585). (p) Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Chigi M V 106. (r) Idem, Cod. Chigi M VIII 161. (s) Idem, Cod. Barb. lat. 3927. (t) Idem, Cod. Barb. lat. 3959. (u) Idem, Cod. Vat. lat. 4613. (v) Rome, Biblioteac Angelica, Cod. 251. Undoubtedly many other manuscripts of this most popular work may be discovered in printed catalogues and in Professor Kristeller's forthcoming *Iter Italicum* listing Renaissance works in unprinted manuscript inventories. (w) Hain 12901

s.l.a.; Hain 12902, s.l.a.; Hain 12903, Stillwell P 520, *Phalaris Epistolarum opus nobilissimum a Bartho. Fontio Florenteno in vulgarem sermonem traductum feliciter finit MCCCCL-XXI* (anonymous printer of 1471 Mesue), which may well be the first edition; Hain 12904, St. P 522, Florence, per Antonio di Francesco Venetiano, 1488; Hain 12905, St. P 523, Florence, per Francescho di Dino di Iacopo, 1488; Florence 1506; etc.

(44) *Aristeas de LXXII interpretibus*

(a) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Magl. Strozz. XL, 43, ff. 1^{r}–34^{v}. (b) Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Ross. 407. (c) Idem, Cod. Ottobon. lat. 1558, attributed to Fontius (though he is unnamed in the manuscript) by Giovanni Mercati, *Codici latini Pico, Grimani, Pio* . . . (Vatican City, 1938, Studi e Testi 75), p. 289. (d) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Cod. 1003.

(45) *Lucianus de Calumnia*

Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett (ehemals Staatliche Museen), Cod. 78 C 26, ff. 3^{v}-24^{r}. See Appendix III below for further discussion of this important manuscript and for Fontius' *Proemio*.

(47) *Oratio Demosthenis ad Alexandrum*

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Magl. Strozz. XL, 43, ff. 34^{v}–36^{v}.

ADDITIONAL WORKS OF FONTIUS

(A) *Annales suorum temporum:* Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 1172, ff. 36^{r}–45^{v} (Morpurgo, p. 219). Printed by Lami, pp. 193–197; and by G. C. Galletti, in *Philippi Villani, Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus* . . ., Florence, 1847, pp. 151–160.

(B) *Liber Monumentorum Romanae Urbis et Aliorum Locorum*: London, Collection of Bernard Ashmole, a manuscript described and discussed with reproductions by Fritz Saxl, 'The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics', *Jour. of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* IV (1940–1941), 19–46. Saxl also lists Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1174(1103) (wrongly giving the *bollettino* number as 836, thus confusing it with 905 (836), a sixteenth-century manuscript containing Fra Giocondo's collection of inscriptions) and Siena, Biblioteca Communale, Cod. C VIII 4. These are unconfirmed.

(C) A translation into Latin of Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonauticon*, by Fontius (with autographic corrections) is in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 539.

(D) The first printed edition of Celsus was edited by della Fonte: Hain 4835, Stillwell C 325: f. 1^{v}, 'Bartholomaeus Fontius Saxetto Suo S.'; f. 2^{r}, 'Cornelii Celsi de Medicina liber incipit'; f. 188^{v}, 'Cornelii Celsi de Medicina liber finit'; f. 189^{r},'Primo libro Cornelii Celsi de Medicina haec continentur'; f. 195^{v}, 'Finit tabula. A Nicolao (Laurentii) impressus, Florentiae, 1478'.

(E) There are at least ten manuscripts in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, containing notes, excerpts, scholarly records, etc. of Fontius: (a) Cod. 62, His Greek studies. (b) Cod. 151, Excerpta de rebus naturalibus. (c) Cod. 152, Excerpta varia (classical and patristic, also lecture notes 'Sub Bernardo Petri Francisci anno 1467', 'Collecta sub

Petro Cennino Anno 1468', etc. (d) Cod. 153, Excerpta ex variis auctoribus. (e) Cod. 154, Silvae variae lectionis (carefully indexed in front). (f) Cod. 646, Vocabula (definitions, etymologies of words, lecture notes, e.g. f. 61, 'Collecta sunt Christophoro Landino publice legenti Florentiae anno mcccc° supra quartum et sexagesimum. Multa sunt quae ipse non dixit; sed ego ex Tortellio collegi.') (g) Cod. 673, Excerpta ex variis auctoribus (including one dated 1488). (h) Cod. 819, Early extracts from Cicero, etc. (i) Cod. 837, Dictionarium ex variis auctoribus collectum. (j) Cod. 907, Excerpts from classical, patristic, and humanist authors. On flyleaf: 'Die 13 Iannuarii 1775: In veteri integumento huius codicis legebatur—Barptolomei Fontii et amicorum.'

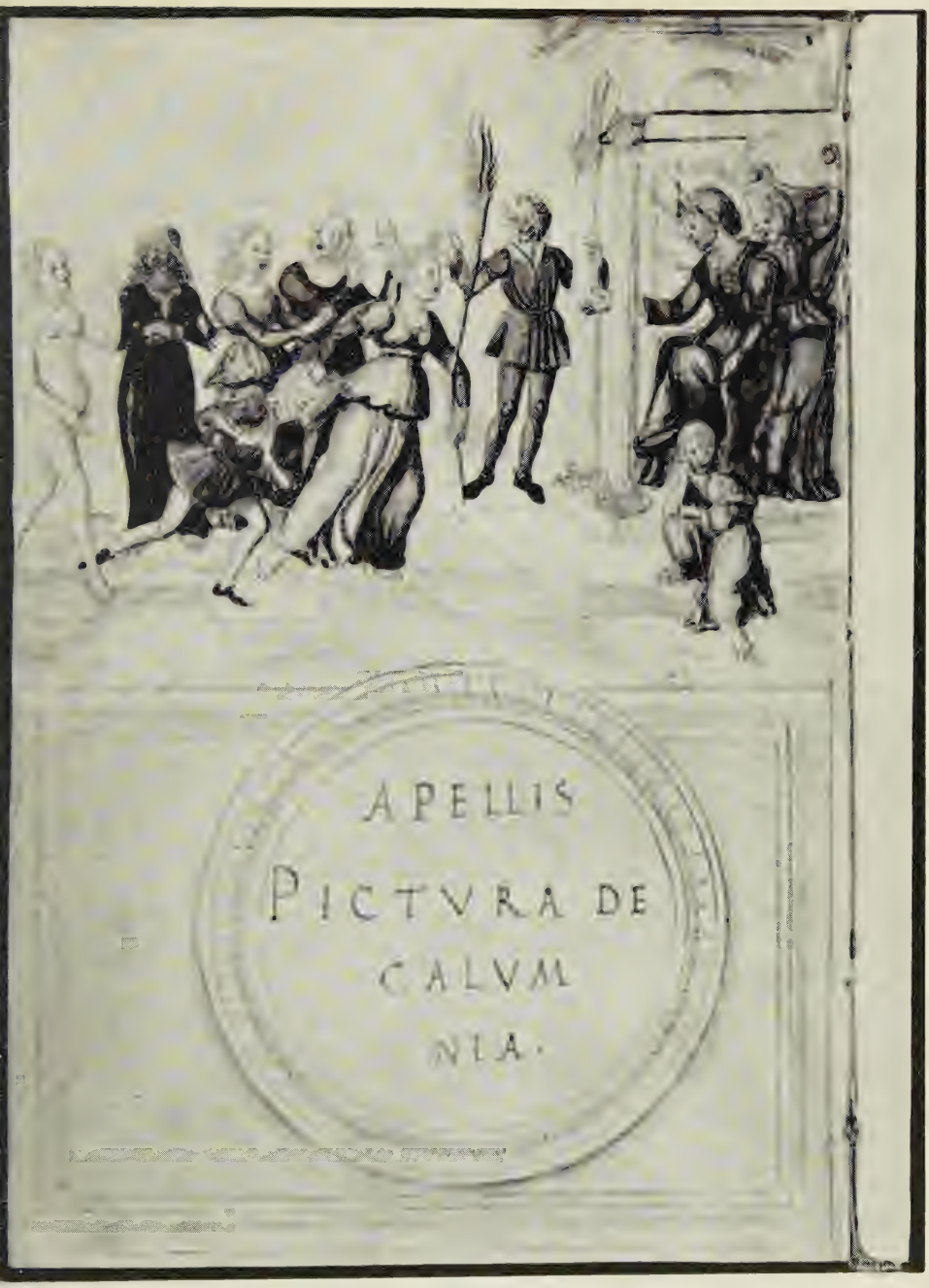
(F) *Sermone de penitentia di Bartolommeo Fontio a S. Juliano di Piero de' Medici:* Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Magl. xxxv, 20 (#2), ff. 65^{r}–100^{v}. Either a vernacular sermon on which (9) is based, or a translation of (9).

APPENDIX III

THE BERLIN KUPFERSTICHKABINETT MANUSCRIPT OF FONTIUS' ITALIAN TRANSLATION OF LUCIAN'S *CALUMNY*, AND TWO APPENDED SONNETS TO ERCOLE I D'ESTE

Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett (ehemals Staatliche Museen) Cod. 78 C 26 (formerly Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 416). Described: *Catalogue of the Hamilton Collection of Manuscripts* (London, 1882), p. 71; Waldemar v. Seidlitz, 'Die illustrirten Handschriften der Hamilton Sammlung zu Berlin', *Reportorium für Kunstwissenschaft* VII (1884), p. 82, # 55; L. Biadene, 'I manoscritti italiani della collezione Hamilton', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* X (1887), p. 323; Richard Förster, 'Die Verläumdung des Apelles in der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* VIII (1887), 29–56, 89–113, esp. 35–38 (reproduces, p. 35, in line drawing the half-page miniature 'Apellis Pictura de calumnia' from f. II^{v}; essential both for textual and iconographic tradition of Lucian's *Calumny* in the Renaissance); Giulio Quirino Giglioli, 'La Calumnia di Apelle', *Rassegna d'Arte Antica e Moderna* VII (1920), 173–182, esp. 175; Paul Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen—Handschriften und Einzelblätter—des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlin* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1931), pp. 95–96, with halftone reproduction of the miniature.

This manuscript (of which the proem is transcribed below; Marchesi printed the two appended sonnets, *op. cit.*, pp. 169–170) is made available to scholars as a result of Professor Kristeller's searches. Attributed, as above, to the Hamilton Collection in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek in principal works of reference, its subsequent transfer to the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen was not generally reported, although the manuscript was listed in Wescher's compilation of 1931, as above. Inquiring again at the Staatsbibliothek in 1955, Professor Kristeller ascertained that it had been so transferred and was then in a depository in Wiesbaden for safekeeping. He examined it there. It has now been returned to a depository in West Berlin, where it remains a refugee from the Staatliche Museen in East Berlin.



Berlin-Dahlem, ehemals Staatliche Museen,
Kupferstichkabinett, Cod. 78 c 26, f. 11^{v}.

Because of its illumination, which both Förster and Giglioli regard as a prototype of Botticelli's *Calumny*, this manuscript is of particular importance in the history of art. It is precisely dated 26 July 1472 from its entry as a gift in the inventory of the *guardaroba* of Ercole I as of this date (cited by Förster and Giglioli from the Modena archives, as above). There are exceptionally full marginal notes surrounding the text which do not reproduce readily photographically; for these, scholars may wish to consult the manuscript itself.

[I^{r-v} Eighteenth-century notes on Bartolommeo della Fonte | II^{v} [Half-page miniature] 'APPELIS PICTVRA DE CALVMNIA' | [1^{r}] PROEMIO DI BARTHOLOMEO FONTIO NELA CALUMNIA DI LUCIANO A LO EXCELLENTISSIMO HERCOLE DUCA DI FERRARA. Di tanti vitii da' quali la natura humana è del continuo oppressata,[1] non è alchuno de l'invidia più horrendo. Perchè | [1^{v}] chome la ruggine il ferro chosì lei de l'invidente l'animo sempre rode. Nè mai si può tanto pestifero vitio con alcuni remedij medicare che non sempre diventi piggiore. Perchè quanto a l'invido beneficij maggiori si fanno, tanto più si contrista, maggior dolor piglando de la potentia de l'amico che piacere del beneficio ricevuto. Onde la invidia è un dolor continuo, che dal bene del proximo nostro nasce. Da lei, chome da uno amarissimo fonte, | [2^{r}] il pestilentissimo fiume de la calumnia discende. Vitio tanto de l'invidia piggiore, quanto la invidia a se medesima, la calumnia et a se stessa et agl'altri sovente nuoce. Imperochè de la calumnia gravissime inimicitie, sanguinolentissime guerre, et crudelissime morti nascono. Per potere adunque apertamente conoscerla, terminato ho da Luciano tradurla, et a te, Duca invictissimo, dirizarla, non perchè io stimi haverne bisogno la tua Ex | [2^{v}] cellentissima Signoria (imperochè io so bene gl'optimi et admirabili costumi et la incredibile et divina sapientia tua optimamente conoscerla), ma perchè al tuo Felicissimo nome mandandola molti altri ne piglino qualche fructo. Dipoi desiderando io mandar qualche dono a la tua Illustrissima Signoria, non havendo oro o argento o gemma alcuna, et quando io l'avessi la Magnificentia tua non la desidera, giudichai non poter mandare chosa più grata che qualche | [3^{r}] ricordo de le buone lettere. Et nel vero che più pretiosa gioia di quelle si può donare, che da la lungheza del tempo chome le picture di Parrhasio et di Zeusi et d'Apelle, o le sculpture di Pirgotele, di Mentore, di Lisippo, di Scopa non si consumono? Accepta adunque con lieto animo, preclarissimo Hercole, dal tuo devotissimo Fontio questo libro de *La Calumnia* di Luciano. Il quale io in effecto, et non in decti, fedele interprete ho traducto, acciochè et | [3^{v}] a leggere sia più grato, et a l'intendere più aperto. FINISCE IL PROEMIO; INCOMINCIA IL LIBRO DE *LA CALUMNIA* DI LUCIANO.

[Incipit:] QUANTI MALI de la ignorantia naschino, di qui facilemente si può comprendere, che la ve|[4^{r}]rità naschondendo. . . . [Explicit (24^{r}):] . . . chome quella che le chose da la verità quasi da un certo splendore alluminate raguarderebbe.

[1] *Sic*, read 'oppressa'.

APPENDIX IV

BARTOLOMMEO DELLA FONTE, *RAGIONAMENTO SOPRA ALCHUNI LUOGHI DE' TRIUMPHI DEL PETRARCHA*

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburnham 768 (699) Membr., late xv or early xvi century, 27 folios. Listed: *Catalogue of the Manuscripts at Ashburnham Place, Part the First Comprising a Collection Formed by Professor Libri* (London, n.d.), #768, 'Raggionamento Accademico sopra i Trionfi del Petrarca'; *Bollettino Ufficiale, Ministero dell'Istruzione pubblica*, x, No. 8 (Roma, August, 1884), p. 566, #699, 'Ragionamento Accademico sopra i Trionfi del Petrarca'.

This manuscript, the only known example of the work listed in Appendices I and II above as #42, *De locis triumphorum Petrarchae* (Lingua rustica composita), is here published for the first time, thanks to Professor Kristeller's searches and perseverance in going beyond the word of the printed catalogue. Listed as above without attribution of author and under a title supplied by some seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand on the flyleaf of the manuscript, it turned out, on Professor Kristeller's examination in the summer of 1958, to be most probably by Bartolommeo della Fonte, the illuminated title and initial, partly faded, reading 'PELAGO di BARTHOLOMEO FON . . .' (i.e. Fontio). The fact that it is included in the Pandolfini list (Appendix I) and that 'Fontio' is mentioned by name five times as the first-person author of the dialogue (folios 4^v, 19^r, 20^v, 21^v, 32^v) make the identification absolute. Professor Kristeller would far more competently (and more properly) have edited this manuscript and the material from the one in Appendix III. He was able to induce me to undertake this task for him only because of the desirability of early publication and the appropriateness of its appearing along with other material on Fontius.[1]

TEXT

[1^r] Raggionamento Accademico sopra I Trionfi del Petrarca [in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand] | [1^v] blank | [2^r] PELAGO DI BARTHOLOMEO FON[TIO][2] [illuminated title and initial partially faded] SE CON PIU CONVENIENTE et maggior dono la grandeza della mia benivolentia, Pagolantonio,[3] dimostrarti potessi, volentieri qualche argentea statua o pretiosa gioia ti donerei. Ma perchè nè le mie tenuissime substantie lo sopportano, nè la gentileza del tuo generoso animo vulgar dono et dagl'imperiti aprezato appetisce (conciosiachè quegli veri et | [2^v] perpetui doni sapientemente esser giudichi, che non dalla invidiosa temerità della fortuna dipendono, ma da' sempiterni fructi

[1] So far as possible, the spelling of the manuscript has been preserved. The only exception has been in the case of what seemed to be obvious scribal errors. On the other hand, modern conventions of word-separation, contraction of prepositions and articles, capitalization, and punctuation have, wherever possible, been adopted. Readers may well find alternative usages preferable.

[2] Faded; 'TIO' is a safe conjecture.

[3] Perhaps Paolantonio Soderini, a correspondent of Ficino, though not included in Fontius' collection of his own letters. Fontius did correspond with Francesco, Pietro, and Tommaso di Gianvittorio Soderini and was close to Bernardo Rucellai, to whose circle Paolantonio Soderini also belonged.

dell'ingegno derivono), questo brieve ragionamento sopra alchuni luoghi de' Triumphi del Petrarcha ti mando. Benchè se al ardore de l'animo et a la pronta voluntà la brevità del tempo havessi risposto, non con semplici parole si pochi versi di tanto poeta, ma con elegante et copioso volume tuta l'arte & excellentia sua t'harei dimostro. Hora, perchè in altre cose occupato, a più lunga & ar | [3^{r}] tificiosa scriptura non posso attendere, sarai (come spero) contento di questo sermone. Dal quale se forse qualchuno con non recta coniectura mi giudicassi o arrogante o malivolo, perchè io di non molta doctrina et di minore auctorità al'opinione de celebrati huomini me opponga, con lungheza di parole me purgherei, se la mia consuetudine da ogni arrogantia aliena per se medesima non mi difendessi, et se antiquo et laudabile costume non fussi narrare la verità modestamente. A la cui expositione, nondimeno, da | [3^{v}] mia propria volontà non sono commosso, ma da prieghi di due giovani amicissimi constrecto. Imperochè sendo ito Giraldo de' Giraldi con Pagolo da Ghiacceto nella sua villa di Pelago, io la mattina delle calende di Maggio per istarmi con loro andatovi, nell'orto a sedere gli trovai. I quali poi che lietamente mi riceverono:

NIUNA COSA mi poteva essere più gioconda che la tua venuta, disse Pagolo. Imperochè oltre ala suavissima consuetudine il bisogno ancora mi ti rende più grato. Noi eravamo qui (come vedi) posati leggendo | [4^{r}] i Triumphi del nostro Petrarcha che da Bernardo Alcino,[4] huomo di molta cognitione ripieno, non bene essere exposti in alchuni luoghi Giraldo mi dimostrava. Ne' quali da te anchora desidero la tua sententia se con la sua si concorda cognoscere.

Pochi sono, risposi, che io parimente come te ami et a la cui volontà più satisfare desideri pur che io possi et sappi. Ma chotesto poeta in che può a Giraldo essere obscuro che a me sia noto? O in che può Bernardo haver manchato che io presumi con maggiore doctrina poterlo intendere? |

[4] I.e., Bernardo Lapini, da Mont'Alcino, da Siena, variously known as Bernardo Ilcino, Ilcini, Glicino, Glicini, author of a commentary on the *Trionfi* of Petrarca frequently printed in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. I quote from the copy of the Venice, 1478, edition at the Pierpont Morgan Library (Hain 12767, Stillwell, P 340), sig. a2^{r}:

'Ad Illustrissimum Mutine Ducem Divum Borsium Estensem Bernardi Glicini Medicine ac philosophie discipuli in triomphorum Clarissimi Poetae Francesci Petrarche expositio Incipit.

'Publio Lomelio Scipione Illustrissimo P. Nesuna Magiore victoria o più singulare triumpho essere . . .

[Explicit (sig. gg10^{r}):] 'Sicondo la voluntà tua et vechi piu te ama desidera et ad opera mantenerti in gloria per infinita seculorum Amen.

'Finisse il comento deli triumphi del Petrarcha composto per il praestantissimo philosopho chiamato Bernardo da Sena impresso nella inclita città da Venexia per Theodorum de Reynburch et Reynaldum de Novimagio compagni nelli anni del signore Mccclxxviii a di vi del mese de Febraro.'

References will be to this edition. In addition there are H. 12768, Venice, 1481; H. 12769, Venice, 1484; H. 12770, St. P 344, Venice, 1488; H. 12772, Venice, 1492; H. 12775, Milan, 1495; H. 12777, Venice, 1500; H. 12786, St. P 370; Bologna, 1475 (1st ed.?); H. 12787, Venice, 1488; H. 12788, St. P 343, Venice, 1488; Venice, 1512; Venice, 1519; Venice, 1522; and presumably others. Obviously this was a popular work.

[4^{v}] Non bisogna, soggiunse Pagolo, che tu o inalzi altri o abassi te medesimo. Ma piutosto dapoichè in tanto ocio sanza alcuna molestia ci posiamo, sodisfa alla mia honesta domanda. Dipoi a Giraldo voltatosi, dixe: Dal principio ricomincia i versi dinanzi notati, acciochè io dal Fontio intenda se l'opinione tua da Bernardo con ragione si discosta.

A tali parole Giraldo ripreso il libro in mano, disse: Benchè questo utile commentatore habbi diffusamente le favole e historie del Petrarcha narrato, nondimeno in alchune di quelle | [5^{r}] m'è paruto essere molto discosto dalla sua mente. Le quali acciochè possi con più chiareza cognoscere, ti leggerò i proprii versi distinctamente. Nè sia lungo o difficile ritrovargli, conciosiachè poco inanzi gli abbian trascorsi. Et in prima in questo Triumpho dell'Amore, dove il poeta descrive l'isoletta sacrata a Venere, dicendo:[5]

'Giace oltra ove l'Aegeo sospira et piagne
'Una isoletta . . .'

Bernardo expone questa isola chiamarsi *Cithera*.[6] Ma io giudico quella essere *Cypri*, a la dea Venere consecrata. Dipoi nel medesimo Triumpho, dove è scripto:[7] |

[5^{v}] 'Lungo costor pensoso Esaco stare
'Cercando Eperia . . . .',

non tanto il verso quanto il senso mi pare habbia corrupto. Imperochè lui expone: 'Et se achostare cercando Hesperia,' riferendolo ad Halcyone et Ceice et Hesperia regione et non ad Esaco et Eperia da lui ardentissimamente amata.[8] Questi due luoghi havevo stamani nel Triumpho d'Amor segnato, sopra 'quali il tuo libero parere desideriamo.

[5] References to the *Trionfi* will be given according to Francesco Petrarca, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine* a cura di F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi, N. Sapegno (Milano-Napoli, [1955], La letteratura italiana, Storia e testi VI), designated as 'Neri', editor of *I trionfi* in this volume. Variations from the text cited in the manuscript will be given from this edition. Comparisons with the Florence, 1499, per S. A. & Lorenzo Venetiano edition of the *Trionfi* (cited as '1499') will also be made and its variants indicated. Neri, 505, *Cupidinis* IV, 100–101, 'Un'isoletta'; 1499, sig. a8^{r}, as in Cap. III, 'oltre'.

[6] H. 12767 (so citing the edition indicated above in note 4, as in subsequent references) sigg. e8^{v}–f1^{r}: '. . . dicendo che dove sospira et pare che piangi il mare Egeo v'è collocata una delicatissima et amena isoletta molto piu che altra che sia bagnata dal mare o illuminata et scaldata dal sole nel laquale è immezo uno aprico ameno et placidissimo colle fiorito et verde nominato Citero, la dove a Venere si sacrificia. . . . la quale isola è regione piacque a Venere per sua habitatione et allei fu consecrato.'

[7] Neri, 493, *Cupidinis* II, 160–161, 'Esperia'; 1499, as in Cap. IV, sig. b2^{v}, 'Lungho costor, pensoso Exaco stare | Cercando Eperia, . . .'

[8] H. 12767, sig. g2: 'Narra dipoi messer Francesco un altro exemplo amoroso dicendo come vide doppo costoro accostarsi pensosi Alcione et Ceice cercando Hesperia et talvolta volar si in alto et talvolta volare sotto acqua talvolta assidarsi sopra d'uno duro saxo et cosi sempre dolcemente viversi come Amore facti gli haveva compagni eterni et in vita et in morte. Onde dice: "Quei duo che amor fece compagni eterni | Alcyone et Ceice in riva di mare | Far i lor nidi a' più suavi verni: | Lungo costor pensosi *et se accostare* | *Cercando hesperia*: hor sopra un saxo assiso | Et hor sotto acqua: et hor alto volare." ' Italics added.

Dipoi, se non ti parrà molesto (che certamente per nostro amore non ti sarà), agli altri versi trapassereno.

Sentomi qui, risposi, legar da voi, non tanto perchè | [6r] io mi diffidi satisfare a quello mi domandate quanto perchè contro ala mia consuetudine mi strignete, quel che a molti ho dinegato, al presente Bernardo corregere. Il quale, se in qualche luogo non ha cosi a punto la verità dichiarato, non debbe perciò nè da voi, nè da me, nè da altri essere ripreso, ma piutosto molte altre cose da lui bene et difusamente narrate i suoi pochi et piccoli errati ricoprir debbono. Nondimeno, sendo da voi pregato di mio parere, a chi io non debbo et non voglio mai chosa alcuna dinegare, ve lo dimost[r]errò[9] brievemente.

Et | [6v] in prima quanto al'isoletta sacrata a Venere s'apartiene, non di Cithera isola, ma di Cypri s'intende, benchè Bernardo[10] in questo di qualche scusa è degno, perchè forse è stato ingannato da Servio Grammatico. Il quale nel primo libro della *Aeneida* di Vergilio, sopra il verso: *Io riporro costui adormentato Sopra l'alta Cithera*, et nel decimo volume, sopra il verso: *Ho l'alta Papho & Amatho & Cithera*, scrive: Cithera essere isola sacrata a Venere et essa idea Citherea esser decta da l'isola.[11] Onde scrivendo il Petrarcha:[12] |

[7r] 'Questa è la terra che cotanto piacque
'A Venere . . .',

Bernardo stimò che di Cithera isola intendessi.[13] Ma benchè nel golfo di Laconia sia una isola inanzi Porphira dipoi Cithera chiamata con una città del medesimo nome, nondimeno Venere da questa non fu decta & di lei non i[n]tende[14] il Petrarcha, ma di Cypri. Imperochè, secondo scrive Diodoro Siculo nel sexto libro delle Historie Antique: Venere habitò in molti luoghi et maxime in Sicilia intorno al Monte Eryce, et in Cypri intorno a Cithero et Papho, et in Asia intorno ala Syria. Onde | [7v] ella è stata chiamata Erycina et Citherea et Paphia et Syra.[15]

Piacemi, disse Pagolo, havere da te compreso non da Cithera isola, ma da Cithero in Cypro, Venere Citherea per auctorità di Diodoro Sicula esser decta. Ma benchè Venere sia stata nominata piutosto forse da Cithero in Cypri che da Cithera isola, nondimeno per questo non resta che discrivendo il luogo dove triumpha Cupidine di Cithera isola non si intenda. Et a me pare più versimile di lei che di Cypri doversi

9 Ms., 'dimosterro'.

10 Cf. note 6.

11 Servius Grammaticus, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* I (Leipzig, Teubner, 1923), 193, on *Aen.* I, 680–681, merely says, 'CYTHERA sicut supra dictum est genere neutro pluraliter, ut alibi sunt alta Cythera'; II (Leipzig, 1883), 390, on *Aen.* X, 51, 'CYTHERA insula est contra Laconicam, Veneri consecrata.'

12 Neri, 505, *Cupidinis* IV, 106–107, 'Quest' '; 1499 as in Cap. III, sig. a8r.

13 Cf. note 6.

14 Ms. 'itende'.

15 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* V, 77, 5–6 (Loeb ed. III, 308–309), but the text does not bear out Fontius, who mistranslates 'ὁμοίως δ' Ἀφροδίτην ἐνδιατρῖψαι τῆς μὲν Σικελίας περὶ τὸν Ἔρυκα, τῶν δὲ νήσων περὶ Κυθήραν καὶ Πάφον τῆς Κύπρου, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας περὶ τὴν Συρίαν . . .'

leggere. Perchè dicendo *isoletta*,[16] che dimostra piccola isola, come villetta et chasetta | [8r] piccola villa et casa, non di Cypri la quale è di circuito circa quatrocento venzette miglia, ma di Cithera, secondo il mio iudicio, si debbe intendere.

Non dir così, risposi, conciosiachè di cotesta isola nell'arcipelago posta, oggi vulgarmente Cirri chiamata, non può intendersi, se con diligentia le parole del poeta consideri. Imperochè scrivendo:[17]

'Giace oltre ove L'Egeo sospira & piagne
'Una isoletta....',

dice che oltre, cioè di la dal mare Aegeo, giace questa isola, & manifesto è che Cithera non è difuori ma drento al mare Aegeo nell'arcipelago. Pertanto dicendo *oltra* s'intende | [8v] il mare Phenicio, nel quale è Cypri. La quale chiama isoletta si perche la consonantia del verso lo costrignea, si perche la diminutione nelle cose d'amore è più leggiadra, si ancora perche rispecto alla Sicilia et Inghilterra et Taprohane et altre maggiori isole Cypri *isoletta* meritamente si può chiamare. Dipoi scrivendo in questa isola essere il regno della madre di Cupidine, non si può d'altra che di Cypri sopra tutte l'altre di Venere studiosa intendere; dalla quale essa idea et da' nostri et da' Latini et da' Greci poeti è Cyprigna cognominata. | [9r] Oltra questo soggiugnendo lei essere:[18]

'... dilicata & molle
'Più d'altra che'l sol scaldi o che il mar bagne;'

manifesto è di Cypri più che tutte l'altre piacevole et dilectevole intendersi. Ma perchè questo il verso del poeta, come fa quello d'Esaco et d'Eperia non corrompe, essendo minore errore, più facilmente lo sopportiano.

A la quale correctione d'Esaco tante parole quante in Cithera non mi bisognano. Imperochè il Petrarcha seghuita Ovidio nel undecimo libro delle *Transformationi* dove, poi che diffusamente d'Alcyone e Ceice ha scripto,[19] viene ad Esaco | [9v] nel Monte Ida da Priamo re et da la nympha Alixirrhoe generato.[20] Costui adunque innamoratosi d'Eperia nympha, et per seco congiungersi seghuitandola, ella nel fuggire fu da una pestifera serpe morta. Onde Esaco da grandissimo dolor mosso in mare da uno scoglo gittossi. Ma la dia Tethi per compassione in ucello il converse da' Latini *mergo*, perchè si merge e tuffa nell'acque, da noi, poche lettere aggiunte, *Maragone* chiamato. Il quale scrive il Petrarcha havere visto lungo Alcyone et Ceice andare cercando la sua Eperia et ora posarsi sopra qualche | [10r] scoglio et saxo et ora tuffarsi sotto l'onde et ora in alto volare,[21] come è la natura et usanza di tale uccello.

Havendo io qui finito el parlare, soggiunse Giraldo: Dove mi pare essersi più ch'altrove discostato dalla verità il nostro commentatore è dove in questo *Triumpho della*

16 Cf. note 5.
17 Cf. note 5.
18 Cf. note 5; Neri, 101–102; 1499, *ibid.*
19 Ovid, *Metam.* XI, 410–748.
20 *Ibid.* XI, 732–795.
21 Cf. Neri, 493, *Cupidinis* II, 161–162; 1499, Cap. IV, sig. b2v.

Fama di Cincinnato et Serano et Papirio Cursore et Quinto Fabio Rutiliano ha scripto. I quali luoghi, acciochè meglio giudicar possi, con brevità distinctamente narrerotti. Et in prima, dove il poeta scrive:[22]

'Cincinnato et Seran che solo un passo
'Senza costor non | [10v] vanno',

lui expone:[23] *Cincinnato Seran*, come se questi due sieno uno medesimo, essendo Serano (come sai) molto differente da Cincinnato. Dipoi qui dove è scripto:[24]

'.....et vidi poi
'Quel che da l'esser suo dextro & leggiero
'Hebbe il nome.....',

a Lucio Sylla Felice lo riferisce.[25] Ma a me, che spesse volte ho lecto la vita et i facti di tale huomo, non ricorda haver trovato che a Sylla da l'esser leggiero et dextro, ma dalla felicità sia dato il Felice cognome, come a Papirio dalla velocità del correre fu attribuito il cognome di Cursore. Drieto a questo ove | [11r] dice:[26]

'Tanto quel che seguiva era benigno',

non sapevole Bernardo che il poeta parla di Rutiliano, intende o di Valerio Corvino, o di Pompeio, o di Cesare.[27] Il che a nessun modo puossi ad alchuno di questi tre, secondo il mio iudicio, riferire.

Quanto hai, risposi, o Giraldo compreso Cincinnato essere differente da Serano, appruovo et affermo. Conciosiachè *vanno*, numero di più, non si può ad un solo riferire

[22] Neri, 533, *Fame* I, 58–59; 1499 as in Cap. II, sig. c7r.

[23] H. 12767, sig. 04: 'Lucio Quinto el quale da la molta et bene composta quantità de capegli et dal lo exercitio del | seminare sorti il cognome di *Cincinnato Serano* fu prestante et degno cittadino Romano: "Cincinnato et Serano che solo un passo | *Non van senza costoro*".' Italics added.

[24] Neri, 534–535, *Fame* I, 94–96, 'ebbe nome'; 1499 as in Cap. II, sig. c7v, 'dallesser', 'Hebbe nome'.

[25] H. 12767, sig. p1: ' "... et vidi poi | Quel che *del* esser suo *presto* et legiero | Hebbe 'l nome in sul fiore degli anni suoi" ... Per intelligentia de'precedenti versi è da sapere che questo el quale Meser Francesco descrive in questo luogo fu Lucio Cornelio Sylla, dove è da intendere che essendo Sylla anchora piccolo in fasce apparve allui una donna laquale come scrive Plutarcho gli disse: *Salve puer tibi et rei / publice tue felix* et incontenente dette queste parole...'.

[26] Neri, p. 535, *Fame* I, 98, 'Tanto quei che'l seguia, Corvo, benigno,'; 1499 as in Cap. II, sig. c7v.

[27] H. 12767, sig. p1v: 'Sogiugne dapoi il nostro poeta dicendo che quanto Sylla nell' arme fusse stato severo et crudele tanto quello che el seguia mostrava nella vita essere benigno. Onde non sapeva discernere quale fusse stato da giudicare migliore o più sufficiente o veramente Ducha et Conductore o vero Cavaliero combattente. Onde dice: "Et quanto in arme fu crudo et severo | Tanto quel che il seguia era benigno. | Non so se meglior duca o cavaliero." ' Sig. p2r: 'Onde secondo questa interpretatione cosi si expognano i versi. Et quanto Sylla fu crudo et severo nell'arme tanto quello ch'il seguiva nel ordine del triumphare cioe Valerio Corvino era benigno ... L'altra interpretatione è che qui intenda il poeta Gn. Pompeo ... La terza et ultima interpretatione è che intenda l Poeta Julio Cesare...'.

ma a due, cioè Cincinnato et Serano, i quali non vanno un sol passo senza Curio et Fabritio. Ma credo Bernardo haver preso | [11v] questa fallacia perchè habbia trovato appresso d'alchuni scriptori Cincinnato h[av]ere[28] seminato il suo podere. Onde ara creduto essergli stato dato il cognome di Serano. Nondimeno la verità è che sono due differenti tra loro. Conciosiachè Lucio Quintio fu detto Cincinnato dalla non bene conposta chioma, perche *cincinni* da' Romani si chiamono gli arricciati capelli. Onde in altro luogo di lui il poeta scripse:[29]

'Et Cincinnato cholla inculta chioma'.

Et Atilio senatore fu detto Serano perchè sapeva bene seminare i campi, come anchora | [12r] scrive nel sexto libro Vergilio:[30]

'Et te Serano in sole seminante.'

Ma che Lucio Quintio Cincinnato da Atilio Serano sia differente, Plinio maggiore nel decimoctavo libro della *Agricultura* narrando con queste parole manifesto dimostra;[31] 'I dati honori trovorono Serano seminante. Onde gli fu posto il cognome. Il viatore portò la dictatura a Cincinnato arante quatro sui iugeri nel Vaticano, che i Prati Quintii si chiamano.'

Ma perchè questo in modo è noto che più parole non mi bisognono, a:[32]

'Quel che da l'esser suo dextro & leggiero |

[12v] 'Hebbe il nome.....'

trapassereno. Costui adunque fu Lucio Papirio. Nel quale, come scrive Livio nello octavo libro *Dalla Edificata Città*,[33] era precipua velocità de'piedi, la quale ancora gli dette il cognome, et dicono lui esser stato nel corso vincitore di tutti gl'huomini dell'età sua. Plinio ancora nella sua vita[34] racconta che Lucio Papirio dala velocità fu decto Cursore. Ma che il Petrarcha di Papirio intenda, quello che di sotto seghuita, lo dimostra. Imperochè Bernardo[35] il primo non intendendo, il secondo ancora non | [13r] bene comprese, cioè chi sia quello di che dice il poeta:[36]

'Tanto quel che'l seguia era benigno.'

Il quale fu Quinto Fabio Rutiliano, et non Valerio Corvino o Pompeio Magno o Julio Cesare. Perchè, come Livio nel sopradecto libro racconta,[37] havendo Lucio Furio Camillo, consolo, creato dictatore Lucio Papirio Cursore, Papirio e[lesse Q]uinto[38] Fabio Maximo Rutiliano maestro de' cavalieri. Dipoi andato contro a' Sanniti al exèr-

[28] Conjectural; original blotted.

[29] Neri, 566, Appendice, *Fame* 1, redazione anteriore, 70, 'e Cincinnato con la etc.'; 1499 as in Cap. 1, sig. c5r, 'conla'.

[30] Cf. *Aen.* VI, 844 (Loeb ed., I, 566–567), 'vel te sulco Serrane serentem?'

[31] Cf. *Hist. Nat.* XVIII, 20 ff.

[32] Cf. note 25.

[33] *Ab. urb. cond.* IX, XVI, 11–13 (Loeb ed., IV, 222–223).

[34] I.e., Sextus Aurelius Victor, *De vir. ill.*, cap. XXXI.

[35] Cf. note 26 and note 28.

[36] Cf. note 27.

[37] Cf. *Ab. urb. cond.* VIII, XXIX, 8–10, XXX–XXXV.

[38] Conjectural, original blotted.

cito, perchè gli augurij erano stati contrarij ritornò a Roma a ridomandargli | [13v] et commandò a Fabio che non uscissi de campi & se absente co'nimici non s'affrontassi. Fabio, contro a l'imperio del dictatore combattendo, vinse i Sanniti. Il perchè Papirio ne' campi tornato lo volse uccidere. Il quale sendo dal exèrcito difeso et a Roma fuggito, il dictatore lo seguitò nella città per pigliarne il supplicio. Alla fine, vinto da' preghi del popolo & de' tribuni della plebe et dalle lacrime di Fabio padre, gli perdonò. Questa historia con brevità e artificio raccontando, il poeta dice che quanto Papirio Cursore | [14r] fu crudo et severo nell'armi et nella disciplina militare et nel volere punire Fabio suo maestro de cavalieri, tanto esso Fabio, che seguiva Papirio dictatore, era gratioso et benigno et accepto al popolo e soldati.

Sendome qui colle parole fermato, nè Giraldo più oltre nel domandare procedendo, ma tacito seco pensando; Che consideri? disse Pagolo, Or non ti ricorda quello che poco inanzi di Mario et di Graccho et d'Achille mi riferisti? Ricordamene, rispose, ma un certo altro luogo d'Epicuro nella memoria transcorrevo | [14v] per ancora con teco non conferito. Nondimeno per procedere col tuo ordine a questi, che m'ai ricordato, trapassereno. Dipoi a me voltatosi, Qui, disse, dove è scripto.:[39]

'Que' tre folgori e tre scogli di guerra
'Mario successor di fama leva',

Bernardo legge:[40] 'Ma non successore,' o vero 'ma l'un ne successore,' et dividendo la parola di Mario, et il senso et l'ordine ha corrupto; et *leva* per la sinistra mano intendendo,[41] ogni gentileza del poeta confonde. Dipoi in questi versi:[42]

'. . . . . et solo un Gracho
'Di quel gran seme garrulo inquieto |
[15r] 'Che fe il popol roman più volte stracco,'

scrive[43] la Sardigna essere questo 'seme garrul et inquieto', il quale ha 'più volte stracho' il popolo romano in diverse guerre. Il che mi pare poco conveniente et ala grandeza romana & alla viltà sardescha, come se la Sardigna fussi o la Francia o l'Africa dove del sommo imperio et maiestà si fussi conteso. Ma veramente la famiglia de' Grachi, et non la Sardigna, pel 'seme garrulo et inquieto' si debbe intendere. Drieto a questo nel verso:[44]

[39] Neri, 535, *Fame* I, 107–108, 'Ma l'un rio'; 1499 as in Cap. II, sig. c8r, 'Quei tre folghori . . . | Mario successor . . .'

[40] H. 12767, sig. p3r, ' 'Ma l'un non subcessor . . .'

[41] H. 12767, sig. p3v, 'Dove tacitamente messer Francesco descrive M. Sergio havere perduta la dextra et solo restare subcessore della fama per la degna leva et sua sinistra mano.'

[42] Neri, 535, *Fame* I, 112–114, '. . . e solo un Gracco | . . . gran *nido* . . . | Che de'l . . .' (italics added); 1499, as in Cap. II, sig. c8r, 'graccho'.

[43] H. 12767, sig. p4v: ' ". . . Et solo un gracco | Di quel gran *nido* et garulo inquieto | Che fe'l (incun., fe'l el) popol roman più volte stracco." . . . Chiama postremo Messer Francesco Sardigna Garulo et inquieto *Nido* el quale ha facto più volte straccho il populo Romano nella guerra.' Italics added.

[44] Neri, 536–537, *Fame* II, 8–9, '. . . cantato . . . | . . ebbe . . .'; 1499 as in Cap. III, sig. c8v, 'canto'.

'. . . . . et quel cantando in versi
'Achille che di fama | [15v] hebbe gran fregi',
a Tirtheo poeta atheniense lo riferisce.[45] La quale opinione tanto è fuori di proposito che scrivendo il poeta d'Achille che cantò in versi, a Tirtheo il senso non corrisponde.

Vero è per certo, dissi, o Giraldo, quel che hai sopra cotesti tre luoghi compreso. Perchè quanto a Mario s'appartiene che succedeva drieto a:[46]

'Lucio Dentato et Marco Sergio et Sceva',
che furono:

'. . . . tre folgori e tre scogli di guerra',
esso gli leva et toglie del primo luogo della fama et colla grandeza de' suoi excellenti facti gli supera, et maxime poi che vinse | [16r] Iugurtha re di Numidia et i Cimbri et Tedeschi. Ne' quali versi così procede l'ordine. 'Mario successore leva di fama' 'que' tre folgori e tre scogli di guerra.' Mario, dico, leva quegli di fama poi che atterra & vince Iugurtha et i Cimbri et il Tedescho furore. Et nel ripetere due volte il nome di Mario,[47] usa uno ornamento di parlare che i Graeci *anaphora* et i Romani *repetitione* chiamano, la quale adorna & accresce l'oratione, et è quando la medesima parola ne' principij de versi si ripete. | [16v] Quale è apresso Vergilio nel primo libro della *Aeneide* dove Venere a Cupidine così parla:[48]

'Figluol mie forze et mia potentia solo,
'Figluol, che l'armi del gran padre sprezi.'
Con questa scriptura et ordine la risonanza del verso, l'ornamento poetico, la verità dell'historia si mantiene.

Ma Bernardo, non meno in Graccho che in Mario, dal vero senso poetico si diparte. Imperochè scrivendo il Petrarcha:[49]

'. . . . . et solo uno Graccho
'Di quel gran seme. . . . . ',
intende che essendo stati | [17r] molti huomini nella famiglia de' Gracchi, nondimeno

[45] H. 12767, sig. q3v: 'Sogiugne apresso di Hannibale Messer Francesco uno altro exemplo degno dicendo che doppo lui era quel duca el quale canto in versi per excitare li suoi militi alla sanguinolente (i.e., sanguinolenta) battaglia. Onde dice, "et quel che canto in versi". . . . Per la qualcosa Tirteo cominzo ad exhortare i suoi militi cantando in versi che dovesseno exporsi a battaglia . . . Adduce consequentemente messer Francesco lo exemplo d'achille dicendo ch'insieme con Tirteo provedeva Achille el quale hebbe grandissime lode et grandi fregi di fama. Onde dice, "Achille che di fama hebbe gran fregi." '

[46] Neri, 535, *Fame* I, 106–107; 1499 as in Cap. II, sig. c8r; cf. note 39.

[47] Neri, 535, *Fame* I, 109, 'Mario poi, che Jugurta e' Cimbri atterra', | 110, 'E'l tedesco furore . . .'; 1499, sig. c8r; Fontius paraphrases but does not directly cite these two verses. Cf. above, note 41, for Bernardo's interpretation to which Fontius is referring. The passage continues, 'Soggiogne dapoi Messer Francesco lo exemplo di Mario dicendo che doppo costoro seguitava Mario el quale aterra Jugurtha re di Numidia aterra i Cimbri et il Tedescho furore. Onde dice "Mario poi etc." '

[48] Cf. *Aen.* I, 664–665 (Loeb ed., I, 286–287).

[49] Cf. note 42.

in questo *Triumpho della Fama* non era se non è un solo, cioè Tito Sempronio Graccho Conciosiachè benchè Tiberio et Gaio, suoi figluoli, erano giovani eloquenti et di grande animo, nondimeno furono seditiosi, et contra la voluntà del senato et degli optimati prima Tiberio, dipoi Gaio la legge agraria publicorono. Onde 'quel gran seme' et famiglia de' Gracchi chiama 'garrulo,' cioè molto parlante, perchè Tiberio et Gaio furono | [17^{v}] eloquenti, et 'inquieto,' cioè non posato, perchè nè se stessi nè gli altri posare lasciorono, strachando spesse volte colle contentioni e parlamenti il popolo. Tanto che alla fine dopo molte et lunghe contese Tiberio da Scipione Nasica, et Gaio dieci anni dopo da Opimio furono morti.

Non è anchora gran maraviglia, se dove è scripto:[50]

'. . . . . et quel cantando in versi

'Achille, che di fama hebbe gran fregi,'

secondo Bernardo a Tirtheo riferendolo,[51] il senso non corrisponde. Imperochè manifesto è apresso de' Graeci et Latini | [18^{r}] scriptori Achille non solo a l'armi, ma a la cithera et a' versi havere atteso, et del canto di quegli molto essersi dilectato. Onde di lui parla Priapo in Vergilio:[52]

'Il Peletronio miserabil verso / Al suon cantò della temprata cetra.'

Et Ovidio Briseide nelle pistole ad Achille scrivere induce:[53]

'Più sicur te il sonar la Thracia lyra/Che lo scudo imbracciare et portar l'asta.'

Et Statio poeta napolitano nel quarto libro delle *Selve* scrive:[54]

'Tal cantato Briseide venne Achille/Più fiero in campo giù posati e plectri.'

Pertanto il poeta doctissimo delle | [18^{v}] antique historie rachontando due egregii huomini forestieri, prima pone Hannibale, dipoi quello Achille, il quale 'cantando in versi' 'hebbe gran fregi' 'di fama', et in facti d'arme fu glorioso. Nè altrimenti o si debbe o si può intendere. Imperochè niuno recto senso patisce che a Tirteo poeta si riferisca, indegno sanza alcun dubbio d'essere aguagliato con Hannibale prestantissimo capitano.

Piacemi assai, soggiunse Pagolo, d'Achille la tua sententia, et infra gli altri la auctorità di Statio adducta. Ma bene | [19^{r}] mi maraviglio perchè 'napolitano' lo chiamassi, conciosiachè Dante lo nomini 'tolosano.'[55]

Non ti maravigliar, disse Giraldo, che'l Fontio habbi chiamato Statio poeta da Napoli, perchè il nostro Dante, dalla similitudine del nome ingannato, credendo esser quello del quale Eusebio nel libro de' *Tempi* scrive,[56] da Tolosa chiamollo. Ma antiqua-

50 Cf. note 44.

51 Cf. note 45.

52 *Priapea* LXVIII, 15–16, in L. Müller, *Catulli . . . carmina. Accedunt . . . Priapea* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1880), p. 112.

53 *Heroides* III, 113 and 117–119 (Loeb ed., 40–41).

54 *Sylvae* IV, iv, 35–36 (Loeb ed., 230, 231).

55 *Purg.* XXI, 88–91.

56 *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici canones Latine vertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus*, ed. J. K. Fotheringham (London, 1923), p. 264, lines 12–14.

mente *Statio* fu nome servile, come Aulo Gellio nel quinto volume scrive,[57] et molti servi appresso gli antiqui hebbono il medesimo nome. Cecilio anchora, poeta delle comedie familiare d'En|[19v]nio, fu servo et perciò fu chiamato *Statio*. Ma dipoi questo nome servile si rivolto in cognome, et fu detto Cecilio Statio.[58] Due altri dipoi docti huomini il medesimo cognome hebbono: Surculo Statio Tolosano, che fiorì sotto Nerone imperadore, et in Francia insegnò rhetorica,[59] et Papinio Statio, poeta che a' tempi di Domitiano fu celebrato, et non solo la *Thebaide* et *Achilleide*, ma anchora le *Selve* scripse, et da Parthenope, cioè da Napoli fue, come lui medesimo di se stesso in più luoghi delle decte *Selve* fa mentione.[60] Il perchè, molto | [20r] meglio l'arebbe Dante Napolitano inducto cadere in via colla terza che colla seconda soma, se i cinque libri delle sue *Selve* havessi lecto. Ma perchè a' suo' tempi sendo in gran parte la lingua latina, che oggi molto fiorisce, ispenta, tale opera insieme con alchune altre dopo ritrovate, gli fu occulta, è di legitima scusa degno.

Resto a pieno di Statio satisfacto, rispose Pagolo, et veramente stimo, che se Dante le sue *Selve*, come di', havessi visto, non sarebbe in simile errore incorso. Ma dimmi al presente qual sia quel luogo che d'E | [20v] picuro nella mente poco inanzi ti rivolgevi. Dipoi dal Fontio intenderlo se 'quel che primo Africa assalta'[61] è Lucio Manlio, et se dove scrive,[62] 'i larghi due di lor sangue tra Deci,' de' soli padre & figluolo si debbe intendere, come tu poco fa volermi dimostrare dicevi.

Dirollo per compiacertene, soggiunse Giraldo. In questi versi:[63]

'Contro al buon Siro che l'umana speme
'Alzò ponendo l'anima immortale
'Samio Epicuro, onde suo fama geme,
'Ardito dir, che la non fusse tale;
'Cosi a lume fu famoso et lippo |
[21r] 'Colla brighata al suo maestro equale',

Bernardo in due luoghi ha la vechia scriptura corropto, cioè in *Samio*[64] et in *lippo*.[65] Im-

[57] *Noctes Atticae* IV, xx, 12–13.

[58] Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[59] Cf. note 56. The passage reads, 'Statius Ursulus Tolosensis celeberrime in Gallia rhetoricam docet'.

[60] Cf. *Sylvae* III, v and v, iii.

[61] Neri, 566, *Fame* I, redazione anteriore, 47, 'prima Affrica'; 1499 as in Cap. I, sig. c5r, 'prima aphrica'.

[62] Neri, 567, *Fame* I, redazione anteriore, 83, 'e larghi . . .o tre Deci'; 1499 as in Cap. I, sig. c5v, 'E larghi . . . in tra Deci'.

[63] Neri, 547, *Fame* III, 106–111: 'Contra'l . . . | . . . . | S'armò . . . sua . . . | Ardito a dir, ch'ella . . . | Cosi al lume . . . fumoso. . . . | Co la brigata . . . eguale'; 1499 as in Cap. IIII, sigg. d3v–d4r, '. . . Syro . . . l'humana . . . | . . . . | . . . . sua . . . | Ardito a dir chella . . . | Cosi illume . . . . | Con la . . .'.

[64] H. 12767, sig. cc6v: 'Sogiugne dapoi messer Francesco dicendo che vide doppo Carneade Epicuro el quale *s'armo* contra del buono et diligente Siro, el quale alzo la humana speranza ponendo et affirmando l'anima nostra essere al tutto immortale. Volendo esso Epicuro et essendo ardito dire non essere tale, ma corruptibile et caduca. Onde

perochè secondo ne' buoni exemplari Sirruo va, con questa sententia et ordine i versi s'intendono, che contro al buon Syro, cioè Pherecide, che nacque in Syro isola del' arcipelago, come Strabone nel octavo libro scrive,[66] il quale Pherecide Syro 'l'umana speme alzò ponendo l'anima' nostra essere 'immortale,' il poeta vide Epicuro Samio, cioè dall'isola Samo, il quale fu 'ardito dire che' l'anima 'non fussi tale' | [21v] quale Syro havea scripto. 'Onde' la 'sua fama', cioè dell'Epicuro, 'geme' et duolsi perchè è molto di tale opinione biasmato. Et così decto Epicuro fu 'al lume' et al intendere il vero 'famoso et lippo' insieme 'colla' sua 'brigata' et secta 'equale' et simile a se, loro 'maestro.' Ma Bernardo 's'armò' e non 'Samio' et 'Ippo' o vero 'Lippo' philosopho discepolo di Thalete leggie,[67] et non 'lippo' che *cispo* significa intende. La quale opinione, secondo il mio iudicio, dalla recta et vera sententia del Petrarcha si discosta, se già forse a te, o Fontio, altrimenti |[22r] non pare.

Allora io: In altro modo non me debbe parere. Conciosiachè havendo il poeta di Carneade scripto,[68] soggiugne havere visto Epicuro Samio essere stato di contraria opinione a Pherecide Syro. Il quale pose l'anima immortale, et Epicuro Samio disse quella insieme col corpo finire. Onde la sua fama si duole et ditrista che a lume et a la cognitione et intelligentia della immortalità de l'anima fu 'lippo' et cogli occhi intenebrati & cispi. Dove è da considerare con diligentia quanto il poeta oservi la proprietà della lin | [22v] gua latina et con quanta gentileza nel nostro toscano parlare la interpongha. Imperochè biasimando l'Epicuro, usa quello vocabulo che a noi non paia sordido et da' Latini nondimeno con vituperio è posto. Conciosiachè famoso di trista fama significa, come appare nel secondo libro di Tullio de *l'Oratore*,[69] ove Egilio ad Opimio che come a femina gli aveva detto: 'Quando vien tu a me colla tua rocha et lana,' risponde: 'Per polluce io non ardisco venire a te perchè mia madre m'a vietato andare alle famose.' | [23r] Et Horatio nel primo libro de' *Sermoni*,[70] faccendo mentione d'Eupoli et Cratino et Aristophane, poeti della antiqua comedia, dice che 'quegli con grande libertà riprendevano, se alchuno era degno d'esser notato per chattivo et ladro et adultero o homicida o in altra scelerateza famoso.' Dipoi chiamandolo 'lippo' mostra che lui dalle tenebre della ignorantia offuscato non intese l'immortalità. Perchè 'lippo' è quello che non bene iscorgie et vede per humore intorno a gli ochi racholto. Et 'a lume' | [23v] dicendo, sta nella propria translatione delle parole, dimostrando che 'a

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per questo assai geme et si diminuisse sua fama. La qualcosa per contrario affirmare era si famosa et excellente al suo lume. Onde dice: "Conta l'buon sire che la humana speme | Alzo, ponendo l'anima immortale | S'armo epicuro, onde sua fama geme, | Ardito a dir la non fusse tale | Cosi al suo lume si famoso . . ." '. Italics added.

65 H. 12767, sig. dd1r: 'Adduce consequentemente Messer Francesco insieme più discepoli stati d'Epicuro dicendo che doppo di lui vide Lippo e l'altra brigata e quala al maestro Epicuro cioe Metrodoro et con seco Aristippo e quale nella secta epicurea con grande ragione furo giudicati più excellenti et famosi. Onde dice: ". . . et Lippo | Con la brigata al suo maestro equale | Di Metrodoro parlo et di Aristippo." '

66 Strabo, *Geographikon* x, 5, 8 (Loeb ed., v, 170).

67 Cf. notes 64, 65.

68 Neri, 567, *Fame* III, 97; 1499, as in Cap. IIII, sig. d3v.

69 *De Oratore* II, xlviii, 277.

70 *Saturae* I, iv, lines 1, 3–5.

lume' et a lo splendore della immortalità de l'animo egli non potè scorgiere il vero per difecto de' cispi ochi del suo ingegno.

Sendo posto qui fine al parlare, disse Pagolo: Dapoi che intra gli altri, questi pochi errori de Bernardo ho da voi apertamente compreso, desidero al presente da te, Fontio, intendere se Jacopo Poggio ha errato in 'quel che primo Africa assalta,'[71] et ne' Decij 'larghi del sangue loro,'[72] come Giraldo inanzi che tu giugnessi, mostrarmi havea | [24^{r}] decto.

A questo: Benchè io non possi dinegarti, risposi, Jacopo giovane litterato et elegante essere in qualche passo difficile inciampato nel suo *Commento della Fama*,[73] nondimeno per quella consuetudine colla quale seco fui congiuncto, ti priego, charissimo Pagolo, mi conceda tacere quello che lui certamente harebbe per se stesso correcto, se dal suo fatale corso non fussi stato preven[u]to.[74] Imperochè con maggiore honestà da qualunque altro che da me giudico potere essere emendato, conciosiachè a me per l'antiqua fami | [24^{v}] liarità molto più s'appartengha la memoria de' suoi scripti difendere, che quegli in alchuna parte corregiere. Oltra di questo, se per conpiacerti fuori della mia usanza t'o exposto quanto di Bernardo intendevo, perchè non richiedi tu piutosto Giraldo, il quale (come di') t'ha cotesti luoghi mostrar promesso?

Come ti pare, rispose Pagolo. Perchè dicendo lui, spero anchora la tua sententia o negando o achonsentendo cognoscere.

Qui Giraldo a Pagolo voltose, disse: Quanto in chotesti due luoghi intendo | [25^{r}] brievemente per compiacerti con questa conditione rachonterocti, che per istamani a questi soli resti contento.

Contentissimo resterò, rispose Pagolo, perchè et l'ora del mangiare s'achosta, et qui il sole in modo s'appressa che quinci partire ci bisogna.

Allora, disse Giraldo, dove il Petrarcha ha scripto 'et quel che prima Africa assalta,'[75] non di Lucio Manlio & Marco Atilio Regulo, come Jacopo scrive,[76] ma di Manlio solo si debbe intendere. Conciosiachè benchè Regulo et Manlio consoli, come Polybio | [25^{v}] nel primo libro della punica guerra scrive,[77] passorono insieme in Africa, nondimeno qui il poeta di Manlio solo intende. Perchè poco dipoi scrivendo:[78]

[71] Cf. note 61.

[72] Cf. note 62.

[73] Hain 12789, Stillwell P 779, *Jacopo di Messer Poggio a Lorenzo di Piero di Cosimo de Medici Sopra el Triumpho della Fama di Messer Francescho Petrarcha Proemio* (sig. a2^{r}) . . . . . *Impresso in Firenze per ser Francesco Bonaccorsi A petitione di Alexandro di Francesco Varrochi Cittadino Fiorentino Nel anno MCCCCLXXXV a di xxiiii di gennaio* (sig. q5^{r}). I was able to use the Pierpont Morgan Library copy of this edition. Another edition: Milan, 1494 (Copinger 4706). Rome, 1475 (Stillwell P 778) is perhaps the earliest.

[74] Ms 'prevento'.

[75] Cf. note 61.

[76] H. 12789, sigg. e7^{v}–e8^{r}: ' "E que' che prima africa assalta" I [Incun. e] primi che andorono con lo exercito ro | mano in Africa nella prima guerra che hebbono i Romani cho' Carthaginesi furono Marco Attilio et Lucio Manlio . . .'.

[77] *Istorion* I, caps. 26–29.

[78] Neri, 567, *Fame* I, redazione anteriore, 73–74, 'Regolo Attilio'; 1499, as in Cap. I, sig. c5^{v}, 'actilio'.

'Regulo Atilio si di laude degno
'Et vincendo & morendo....',

per nessuno modo in questo verso, 'quel che prima Africa assalta,' si può a Regulo riferire, essendo vitio del poeta grandissimo d'uno medesimo in un capitulo due volte scrivere, chome se manchato d'ogni memoria, non si ricordassi averlo poco dinanzi posto. Oltra di questo 'quel che assalta' in singulare | [26r] numero ponendo, come si legge in tutti gli antiqui exemplari, non si può a due per nessun modo accomodare. Pertanto è necessario servate le scripte parole et salvata la degnità del poeta, poco poi di Regulo Atilio soggiugnente, questo verso di Manlio solo intendere.

Ma come qui de Regulo superfluamente intese, così ne' Decii uno troppo similemente aggiunse. Imperochè et Livio et Tullio et Plinio et tutti gli antiqui et moderni scriptori rivoltando non più che due Decij, cioè Publio Decio padre | [26v] et Publio Decio di questo figluolo si leghono per la victoria del'exèrcitò et maiestà della romana respublica essere stati larghi et versatori del proprio sangue. La qualcosa anchora il Petrarcha chiaramente dimostra, scrivendo che tra' Decij, cioè nella famiglia de' Decij, numerosa et nobile, due soli vi furono larghi del sangue loro et in mezo degli armati nimici colle molte ferite lo versorono. Il che si conferma nel sequente capitolo dove ha scripto:[79]

'L'un Decio et l'altro che col pecto aperse
'Le schiere de' ni | [27r] mici....'.

Ma Jacopo la vera et propria scriptura del verso non cognoscendo et a quello che altrove dal poeta era posto non attendendo, dove *tra*' è scripto *tre*, A in E convertendo, non bene intese.[80] Perchè se tre dicessi, tale inconsiderato ordine seghuirebbe, e quive erano i due et tre Decij larghi di loro sangue, in modo che due et tre, cinque della Decia stirpe diventerebbono. Onde *tra*' Decii, cioè nel numero della casa de' Decij, et non *tre* Decij si debbe leggere.

A pena havea questi due luoghi, | [27v] da noi grandemente approvati, Giraldo exposti, quando Giannino da lunge: Venitene a vostro piacere, chè la mensa è in ordine, disse. Allora Pagolo da sedere levatosi et per mano presoci: Andiame, soggiunse, et hoggi poi che il caldo sarà passato, o domattina (se vi parrà) a finire il resto che ci avanza ritornereno.

Fine

79 Neri, 533, *Fame* I, 67–68, 'nemici'; 1499, as in Cap. II, sig. c7v.
80 H. 12789, sig. h7r: 'É dua larghi di lor sangue e tre deci.'

A Florentine Prison: Le Carceri delle Stinche[1]

NOT FAR from the majestic Santa Croce in Florence, there is a small street known as Isola delle Stinche. Students of the late middle ages and the early Renaissance have long neglected the meaning and significance of this street, and many well-informed residents of the city, including historians, have only vague notions about the name *Stinche*.

The present analysis is part of a larger study of crime and punishment in the early Renaissance. The original study focuses on Le Stinche, a Florentine prison that reflected changing currents of legal and penal thought from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the fall of the republic in 1530. I shall not here attempt to trace the development of criminal law and penal treatment that was manifested in the administration of the prison or in records of commitments of prisoners to the institution. Our present concern is with the derivation of its name.[2]

Although I shall not analyze the historical importance of the prison, it should be noted that we are dealing with important history. Le Stinche prison has significance both to the history of Florentine political and legal institutions and to the evolution of the idea of imprisonment

[1] This study in historical penology was supported by a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation and a U. S. Government (Fulbright) research grant. The author is grateful to Thorsten Sellin, who first brought Le Stinche to his attention; to Gino Corti and Roberto Abbondanza for paleographic assistance in the early stages of this research; to Carlo Varetti and Domenico Vittorini for their abiding interest and helpful suggestions; and to his wife, Lenora Wolfgang, for her tireless help in gathering data in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

[2] Most of the basic data for this study of Le Stinche are found in the *Archivio delle Stinche* in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze. These are manuscripts comprising 521 volumes, covering the period from 1343 to 1808, almost entirely untapped by historians.

Although the name *Le Stinche* is plural in Italian and refers to a collection of cells and buildings, I shall speak of them as a single institution or prison. This is a semantically simplified procedure and conforms to empiric reality, for the buildings had continuous physical contiguity, were surrounded by an enclosing wall, and were under one administration or legal authority.

as a form of punishment.[3] Prominent Florentines were imprisoned in Le Stinche at a time when the prison was used principally for debtors and for offenders against the common law. Francesco Berni, the satirical poet, was imprisoned here for debt during the fifteenth century, and he incorporated the name of the prison into one of his poems, entitled 'In lode del debito', directed to Alessandro del Caccia. Berni writes:

O gloriose Stinche di Firenze,
Luogo celestial, luogo divino,
Degno di centomila riverenze,
A voi ne nien la gente a capo chino,
E prima che la vostra scala saglia
S'abbassa in sull'entrar dell'usciolino
. . . . . .
Voi gli tenete in stia come i capponi,
Mandate il piatto lor pubblicamente,
Non altrimenti che si fa a' Lioni.
Com'uno è quivi, è giunto finalmente
A quello stato ch' Aristotil pose,
Che 'l senso cessa, e sol opra la mente.[4]

Giovanni Villani, one of the best-known chroniclers of the city, spent some time in Le Stinche. In volume IV of one of the Sansoni editions of Villani's *Cronica*[5] a section entitled 'Elogio di Giovanni Villani', written by Pietro Massa, includes a full reference to the imprisonment of Villani in Le Stinche:

[3] There is no treatise on penology in English that mentions Le Stinche, except a brief reference by John Howard, the English penal reformer, who visited Le Stinche in the eighteenth century, in *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* (London, 1792), Section IV, 'An Account of Foreign Prisons and Hospitals', p. 108. Among Italian penological works, the fullest discussion of Le Stinche is found in Martino Beltrani-Scalia, *Sul governo e sulla riforma delle carceri* (Torino, 1867). Two brief essays written at the time the prison was demolished in the nineteenth century are useful general descriptions but make no reference to the meaning or importance of Le Stinche in historical penology: Fruttuoso Becchi, 'Sulle Stinche di Firenze', *L'Illustratore Fiorentino* (Firenze, 1839), and Pietro Fraticelli, *Delle antiche carceri di Firenze denominate Le Stinche* (Firenze, 1834). In an otherwise excellent succinct treatise on the evolution of punishment, ancient prisons, and the penitentiary systems, *Il digesto Italiano, enciclopedia di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza* (Torino, 1906–1912), XVIII, 1–17, reference to Le Stinche is missing.

[4] *Opere di Francesco Berni* (Milano, 1887), pp. 148–149. For a similar reference to Berni's imprisonment and to the relationship between the man and his burlesque poetry, see Vittorio Cian, *Lezioni di letteratura Italiana* (Torino, 1935), pp. 65–73, and George Saintsbury, *The Earlier Renaissance* (London, 1901), p. 138.

[5] Giovanni Villani, *Cronica* (Firenze, 1845), IV, 187–207.

Il nostro Giovanni non ebbe men dolore delle pubbliche che delle private sue calamità in questo tempo, perciocchè essendo fallita la compagnia de' Bardi, e avendo tratte nel loro fallimento altre minori campagnie, e tra queste la compania de' Bonaccorsi, della quale era socio il Villani, come mercante fuggitivo e cessante, l'anno 1345, senza sua colpa, qual altro Cimone, fu ritenuto nelle pubbliche carceri delle Stinche....[6]

In the records of persons condemned by the *Otto di Guardia e Balia* for the years 1555 to 1560 there is a reference to an order of 28 February 1556 indicating that Benvenuto Cellini was convicted of having engaged in the act of sodomy and was sentenced to confinement for four years in *Le Carceri delle Stinche*.

Benvenuto di M. Giovanni Cellini scultor et cittadino fiorentino per haver usato l'atto sogdomitico con Ferdinando di Giovanni da montepulciano fu secondo la leggie condannato in (fiorini) doro Item confinato per anni 4 nelle carcer delle stinche Item privato per sempre da tutti li uffizi.[7]

Cellini makes no reference to this episode in his autobiography, but there is no doubt that the *Otto di Guardia* did in fact condemn him to incarceration in the Stinche and that his offense was sodomy.[8]

There is good evidence that in 1513 Niccolò Machiavelli was temporarily incarcerated in the Stinche while he was subjected to questioning regarding his rôle in a local conspiracy. There is no need to recount here the story of the document found by the authorities that contained a list of names of some eighteen persons, of whom Machiavelli was one.[9] Pietro Paolo Boscoli, who was one of the two youthful fanatics resolved to assassinate Giuliano and Lorenzo de'Medici, had accidentally dropped the paper. Although Boscoli and his associate, Agostino Capponi, confessed on the rack, they contended that none of the persons on the list knew of their tyrannicidal designs. Nonetheless, Machiavelli was tortured under questioning; he confessed nothing and was subsequently

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[7] *Otto di Guardia e Balia di Firenze, Condannati 1555–1560.* No. d'ordine 2713, 28 February 1556.

[8] P. Calamandri, in *Il cinquecento* (Firenze, 1955), p. 67, refers to another offense which renders the whole question of the amount of time Cellini was imprisoned in the Stinche unclear and requires further examination: 'Benvenuto Cellini fu imprigionato nelle *Stinche* a 56 anni, quando gli Otto di Guardia lo condannarono perchè nell'agosto 1556 percosse con un bastone Giovanni di Lorenzo orefice'. Cf. Giovan Battista Uccelli, *Il Palazzo del Potestà* (Firenze, 1865), p. 153.

[9] For a careful description of this episode, see, for example, Pasquale Villari, *The Life and Times of Niccolo Machiavelli* (London, 1878), II, 32–33.

released.[10] During those arduous days, he wrote three poems dedicated, presumably, to Giuliano. Two of these were composed while he was sitting in his prison cell and for the purpose of obtaining a pardon. In one of these he describes the prison, after having suffered six turns on the rack. He complains of the stench and the fact that the walls were crawling with vermin so big and swollen that they seemed like moths. One prisoner was being chained, another loosened, and a third crying that the ropes were hoisting him too far from the ground. It was from the Stinche that these lines to Giuliano were written:

I ho Giuliano in gambe un paio di geti
Con sei tratti di corda in sulle spalle:
L'altre miserie mie non vo contalle
Perchè così si trattano i poeti.

Menan pidocchi queste parieti
Grossi e paffuti che paion farfalle,
Nè fu mai tanto puzzo in Roncisvalle
Nè in Sardegna fra quelli arboreti,

Come nel mio sì dilicato ostello;
Con un rumor che proprio par che in terra
Fulmini Giove e tutto Mongibello.

L'un s'incatena e l'altro si disferra
Con batter toppe, chiavi e chiavistelli:
Grida un altro che troppo alto è da terra.
Quel che mi fa più guerra
Fu che dormendo presso all'aurora
Cantando sentii dire: per voi s'ora.
Or vadano in malora
Perchè vostra pietà per me si voglia,
Buon padre, a questi rei lacciuol ne scioglia.[11]

Another Florentine historian contemporary with the use of the prison for public debtors was Giovanni Cavalcanti. He was sent to the Stinche in 1427 for debt to the Commune of Florence, and during his period there wrote most of his *Istorie Fiorentine*.[12] He was a descendant of the

[10] A brief composite of documentary references to the torture of Machiavelli may be found in Marvin E. Wolfgang, 'Political Crimes and Punishments in Renaissance Florence', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* XLIV (1954), 566–567.

[11] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Opere* (Milano, n.d.), p. 1076.

[12] Giovanni Cavalcanti, *Istorie Fiorentine* (Firenze, 1838). This edition of Cavalcanti's history is annotated with references to the fact that Cavalcanti was in the Stinche in 1427 for debt, and that he was writing the history at the time of the war against Lucca, which

important Cavalcanti family that plays a significant rôle in the naming of the prison, as we shall later observe. A century earlier, in 1344, another satirical poet, Dino di Tura,[13] was imprisoned here for debt. Moreover, in his famous *Diario*, Luca Landucci refers to many less notable persons who were sent to the Stinche.[14] In his entry for 27 August 1478, Landucci mentions three men who 'were imprisoned in the Stinche, as it was said that they had been guilty of treachery'.[15] Later in the same year he records that 'the traitor from Pistoia, called Piero Baldinotti, was taken in the executioner's cart and hung, and the son was imprisoned for life in the Stinche.'[16] In 1496 Filippo Corbizi, Giovanni Benizi, and Giovanni da Tignano were arrested and sent to the Podestà for trying to give out voting schedules secretly at a council to elect the Signoria. They were sentenced 'to be stretched on the rack four times . . . and were imprisoned in the Stinche for life, on account of the above business'.[17] A year later the priest who had 'secretly declared that Fra Girolamo and Fra Domenico and all the Frati at San Marco were Sodomites, on account of a grudge he had against them' and who later 'in the presence of all the people said that he had told lies and publicly confessed his error' was sent to the Stinche 'where he was confined in a cage'.[18]

Le Stinche has some relationship to art history. Artists, such as Cennino Cennini in 1437, were occasionally incarcerated in the prison for debt.[19] Moreover, the earliest known representation of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence was originally a fresco on one of the interior walls of the prison.[20] Although sometimes attributed to Giottino, little is known

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was between 1429 and 1430. F. T. Perrens (*Histoire de Florence*, Paris, 1883, VI, 234, n. 1) contends that Giovanni Cavalcanti was in the Stinche until 1440.

[13] *Archivio delle Stinche*, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, 81, c. 12r, 13 August 1344. See also Fruttuoso Becchi, 'Sulle Stinche di Firenze', *L'Illustratore Fiorentino* (Firenze, 1839), p. 34.

[14] Luca Landucci, *Diario Fiorentino del 1450 al 1516* (Firenze, 1883). Quotations from his diary are taken from the English translation, *A Florentine Diary from 1450 to 1516* (London, 1927).

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 105–106.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[19] Becchi, *op. cit.*, p. 34. This author also mentions the fact that Cennino Cennini da Colle di Val d'Elsa not only was incarcerated in the Stinche, but also may have painted while there as well as written his interesting *Trattato sull'arte della pittura* (*ibid.*, pp. 67–73).

[20] A good reproduction of this fresco that was once part of the Stinche walls may be found in Piero Bargellini, *Aspetti minori di Firenze* (Firenze, n.d.), 'La prima immagine di Palazzo Vecchio', p. 4. Cf. Becchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–73; Aurelio Gotti, *Storia del Palazzo Vecchio in Firenze* (Firenze, 1889), p. 50.

about this fourteenth-century fresco which at present is on exhibition in the Palazzo. The painting represents an allegory of the expulsion of the Duke of Athens, whose portrait is the tall figure on the right. St. Anna is enthroned and supported by angels on either side as she points to the Palazzo Vecchio, represented as it then stood. The saint presents the banners of the city of Florence to the new guardians, who, clothed in armor, kneel to do her homage. The dethroned duke tramples on the symbols of justice and law, and clasps a monster that is symbolic of treason, a hoary human head with the tail of a scorpion. This famous fresco presumably was removed from the Stinche when the prison was demolished in 1833.

On the present corner of the Via Ghibellina and the Via dell'Isola delle Stinche there is a small tabernacle that was once part of the exterior of the prison. The only thing that remains of the old prison on its site is this tabernacle, so far as can be determined. A painting which decorates it was executed in 1616 by Giovanni da San Giovanni[21] and represents a Florentine merchant bestowing alms on the prisoners of the Stinche who are looking through the bars of the windows. Christ and two saints stand beside the charitable donor and angels hover above. On the extreme right is a young man, head tilted over his left shoulder and looking out from the painting. He represents a portrait, we are told, of the artist himself.[22]

To the contemporary Florentine, Le Stinche signifies a small street; to the Florentine historian Le Stinche may be known as a once-famous prison; but to the *contadini* in Val di Greve, the name means the slowly decaying remains of an old *castello*. Like the descriptions of the proverbial elephant, whose separate parts are described by independent blind investigators, each one of these conceptions of Le Stinche appears correct, yet they lack synthesis and continuity. The purpose of the remaining discussion is etymological, to supply the link in nomenclature between a contemporary street, a former prison, and a castle above the Val di Greve in the province of Chianti.

[21] For a careful study of this artist, see Edoardo H. Giglioli, *Giovanni da San Giovanni (Giovanni Mannozzi, 1592–1636)* (Firenze, 1949). For a brief description of the painting and its history as well as a good reproduction of the work, see *ibid.*, p. 21 and Tavola V; for an excellent bibliography of this artist, see pp. 202–205; see also Becchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–53. Some of the Florentine guide books of the late nineteenth century make reference to this painting that was part of the exterior wall of the Stinche; for example, Susan and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence* (London, 1884), I, 341.

[22] Pietro Fraticelli, *Delle antiche carceri di Firenze denominate Le Stinche* (Firenze, 1834), p. 25.

On 12 March 1297[23] a provision was passed in the Consiglio de' Cento to establish a new prison that would house a variety of criminals, minor law violators, and other persons. The document officially establishing the prison is highly significant as an example of advanced penological thought that was born out of, but also transcended, its own epoch. This provision reads in part:

Pro evidenti utilitate Com. Flor. provisum et ordinatum est quod pro Com. Flor. et expensis dicti Communis de novo fiant et construantur et fieri et construi debeant Carceres in quibus condempnati dicti Communis in quodam carcerem per se, ac etiam debitores specialium personalium in quodam alio carcere per se, et mulieres in quodam alio carcere perse. Nec non juvenes et male se gerentes qui aliquando ad eorum correctionem ad petitionem eorum parentum carcerantur et custodiantur.[24]

Heretofore, political and ordinary offenders were detained before trial or execution in the Bargello or in one of the several detention quarters that were privately owned and rented by the commune for such purposes. These prisons included the Bellanda, the Paliazze, the Burelle, and the Volognano.[25]

[23] In the original document (see n. 24 below), the date is given as '1296/97 marzo 12' in traditional Florentine form. It should be kept in mind that the Florentine calendar from the tenth century until 1749 inclusive follows the *Stilo dell'Incarnazione al modo fiorentino*, i.e., the new year is dated from 25 March and continues until the subsequent 25 March. Hence, the period from 25 March to 31 December always corresponds to the modern calendar while the period from 1 January to 25 March is always in the Florentine style, a numerically recorded year behind the modern form. (See A. Cappelli, *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo*, Milano, 1930, pp. 11–12).

[24] *Provvisioni*, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, 8, c. 51^{r}, entitled, 'Super quibusdam carceribus faciendis pro Communi'.

Peripheral to our main concern with the derivation of the name of the prison is the extremely important fact for the history and evolution of penological thought that juveniles, on petition of their parents, could be placed in the new prison for purposes of correction. Extensive examination of the *Archivio delle Stinche* bears evidence to the fact that it was not uncommon practice during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to place children in this institution as a reformative device.

[25] *Bellanda* referred to a detention prison situated near San Pietro Scheraggio; the name was given by the proprietor of the land. It was destroyed in 1290, according to a provision of 24 July (*Provvisioni*, 4, c. 23; also G. B. Uccelli, *Il Palazzo del Potestà*, Firenze, 1865, p. 145) which paid a certain Feo di Costantino for the work that he did 'et pro destructione carceris Bellande'.

The *Paliazze* were cells near the market of San Pietro, where a *palazzo* named Pagliazzo was located. Only the nobility were placed in these prisons, which were eliminated in 1282.

The *Burelle* were also privately owned prisons rented by the commune, principally for temporary custody of political offenders. Situated in those quarters of the city known as

The new prison authorized in 1297 was not to be located on ground that was historically significant or financially valuable. The land that was chosen had been confiscated from the Uberti family at least since 1268 and formed an isolated quadrilateral near the Ghibellina gate, beside the church of San Simone.[26] The Uberti family was held in disrepute because of Farinata degli Uberti, who had been considered a traitor for having aided the Ghibellines of Siena and Manfred's Germans to defeat the Florentine Guelfs in the famous victory of Montaperti on 4 September 1260. The poetic influence of Dante and his reference to Farinata[27] as a kind of savior of Florence because the latter opposed sacking the city had no opportunity to affect favorably the city fathers at this early date.[28] Consequently, the Uberti plot was already considered infamous ground and the coerced residence of political offenders, debtors, murderers, prostitutes, and other common-law criminals in a prison there appeared as a fitting association. Continuity of infamy was the underlying social thought that contributed to establishing officially the locus of the new prison.

After the decision had been made in 1297 to erect a new prison, funds were appropriated, designs planned, and construction begun. Most likely because of a lack of public funds, work on the prison did not proceed with alacrity. By 1301 we can find several references to the fact that construction was still in process. For example, volume 11 of the *Provvisioni* for 24 November 1301 ends with such a reference: 'Et intelligantur esse carceres Communis Florentie non solum veteres carceres, sed etiam novi carceres qui presentialiter construuntur pro Communi Florentie in populo Sancti Symonis.'[29]

Sant'Apollinare, San Firenze, and near San Simone, they are known to have existed at least from 1260 (Beltrani-Scalia, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Referring to the fact that the name *Burelle* is derived from *buro*, meaning 'dark place', Beltrani-Scalia cites Dante, who says in Canto XXXIV of the *Inferno*:

> Non era camminata di palagio
> Là 'v'eravam, ma natural burella
> Ch'avea mal suolo, e di lume disagio.

Regarding *Volognano*, see note 72.

[26] *Provvisioni*, 10, c. 165^{v}–166^{v}, 7 November 1299: 'Carceres edificentur super terreno olim Ubertorum iuxta portam Ghibellinam'.

[27] Dante Alighieri, *La divina commedia*, Canto X.

[28] Antonio Panella, *Storia di Firenze* (Firenze, 1949), pp. 44–45.

[29] *Provvisioni*, 11, c. 85^{r}, 24 November 1301. This provision should end some of the contradictions regarding the date of construction. Cf. Edgcumbe Staley, *The Guilds of Florence* (London, 1906), p. 89; Francis A. Hyett, *Florence, Her History and Art to the Fall of the Republic* (London, 1903), p. 75; Machiavelli, *History of Florence and of the Affairs of Italy*

The battles and intrigues of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, the Neri and Bianchi have been described by almost every historian of Florence. Exile, banishment, confiscation of property, plundering of villas, torture, and executions were suffered by members of both political factions.[30] Occasionally the circle of retribution was broken with political amnesty granted to those previously sent into exile, but only when superiority of might and numbers among the latest captors of government could permit reduction of tension and fear of attack. Those who had fought against an incumbent group or those who were driven from public office and high places came to be placed in local prisons for varying periods of time. Usually, the prison experience meant detention until some form of corporal punishment, including death, was imposed. The construction of a new public prison in Florence during the first years of the fourteenth century provided centralized quarters for these political offenders, and the idea of imprisonment as a form of punishment *per se* without subsequent flogging, mutilation, or branding became an integral part of Florentine penal law.

The naming of the new prison is intimately interrelated to a small segment of this political history, and it is necessary to recall briefly the oscillations of party factions from 1301, when the new prison of the commune was under construction, to 1304, when the first inmates were led into the walled quadrilateral area next to San Simone. On 1 November 1301, Charles, Count of Valois and brother of King Philip the Fair, entered Florence in peace, having convinced the leaders of the Bianchi (at that moment the dominant party) that he came in good faith from Pope Boniface to restore peace in Tuscany.[31] But no sooner had the priors conferred power on him than the French knights appeared in arms in the streets and Corso Donati entered the city with an armed band. Donati was from an ancient house of Guelf nobles and sided with the Neri, while the rich bourgeoisie and all who envied the power of the Parte Guelfa were identified with the Bianchi. Too late did the Bi-

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(London, 1901), p. 73; Fraticelli, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Becchi, *op. cit.*, p. 28. It is obvious from the above mentioned-provision that Fraticelli's reference to July 1304 as the date when construction of the Stinche began is erroneous. Becchi, however, cites the correct date.

[30] Relative to crime and punishment among these groups in Florence, see Wolfgang, 'Political Crimes and Punishments in Renaissance Florence', cited in note 10.

[31] The account of this episode can be found in any standard history of Florence. I am especially indebted to Ferdinand Schevill, *A History of Florence from the Founding of the City through the Renaissance* (London, 1936), pp. 173–175, and Janet Penrose Trevelyan, *A Short History of the Italian People* (New York, 1956), pp. 132–133.

anchi come to realize that the papal peacemaker had come to return the city to their enemies. The Neri seized the magistracy, and after several abortive attempts at reconciliation, the French prince agreed, in March 1302, to the production of a document showing that the Bianchi leaders were plotting to subvert his rule. They were summoned to appear before the Signori, but fled to Pisa, Arezzo, and Pistoia. Their apparent alliance with these traditional enemies of Florence gave the Neri, now in power, some degree of rationalization for their wholesale expulsion of the Bianchi that followed. During 1302 over six hundred sentences of property confiscation and exile were pronounced against individual members of the Bianchi, and among those condemned to death by burning if ever they should fall into the hands of the republic was Dante Alighieri, who shared his fate with the father of Petrarch and his poet friend, Guido Cavalcanti, member of an illustrious family among the Bianchi. After Charles of Valois left Florence in April 1302, new lists of Bianchi to be exiled were formulated and 'other hundreds were sent . . . throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula'.[32]

The exiles were naturally driven into the arms of the Ghibellines throughout Tuscany and with the latter's assistance made several unsuccessful attempts at a forcible return. Unrest and instability continued to characterize the political dominance of the Neri. In 1304 Cardinal Fra Niccolò da Prato Domenicano was sent from the pope to quell the civil discord in Florence and to pacify the enemies lying outside the city. Trying to play both sides against the middle, however, the cardinal fell under suspicion from both groups and returned to Rome on 4 June, leaving, instead of peace, the excommunication of Prato, Pistoia, and Florence.[33] Irritated by his treatment by the Florentines, the cardinal instigated the Bianchi exiles to attack the city. One of these surprise attacks just barely failed to recapture power for the Bianchi, but having been repulsed and put to flight, many were captured and hanged during the summer. Enflamed by these attacks, the Florentines, with Bartolino Alberti, the gonfaloniere,[34] set out from the city to recapture surrounding territory that had rebelled against them during the last encounter. The first to be expunged was the stronghold of the Cavalcanti family,[35]

[32] Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[33] Villani, *Cronica*, Lib. VIII, Cap. LXIX; Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Lib. IV (Firenze, 1647), p. 229.

[34] *Ibid.*, and Modesto Rastrelli, *Priorista Fiorentino istorico* (Firenze, 1782), I, 52.

[35] For a good reproduction of the coat of arms of the Cavalcanti family see Lorenzo Cantini, *Saggi istorici d'antichità Toscane* (Firenze, 1798), IX, 77.

the Castello delle Stinche, overlooking the Val di Greve and the Val di Pesa. After a short and futile resistance, the inhabitants of the castle surrendered to the Guelfs and were driven back to the city as political prisoners. The new *Carceri di Comune* were not yet completed,[36] but they were sufficiently ready for habitation. Thus did the Cavalcanti and the defenders of the Castello delle Stinche become the first prisoners to be incarcerated in the new prison in 1304.

There is abundant documentation for these episodes in Florentine history. Details of the storming of the *castello* are lacking, however; only a bare description and the names involved are available. All the early chroniclers as well as later scholars better trained in historiography agree on the basic facts of the seizure of the Castello delle Stinche from the Cavalcanti and the fact that the first prisoners in the new *carceri* in Florence were the inhabitants of the *castello*. It therefore becomes obvious how the new prison received its name. Unfortunately, the earliest records of the prison were destroyed in the siege of the institution in 1343, during the popular overthrow of the government of the Duke of Athens.[37] Consequently, there are no documents of commitments[38] to the prison in 1304, which would be final proof of the fact that the Cavalcanti family from the Castello delle Stinche were definitely *the first* persons to be officially incarcerated in the prison. However, Villani,[39]

[36] Beltrani-Scalia, *op. cit.*, p. 268, gives 1319 as the date of completion of construction. As late as 26 March 1319 money was still being appropriated for construction of the prison (Uccelli, *op. cit.*, p. 146).

[37] The sacking of Le Stinche during the uprising against the Duke of Athens is mentioned by many historians. See, for example, the accounts by M. Pietro Buoninsegni, *Historia Fiorentina* (Firenze, 1581), pp. 349–356; Gino Capponi, *Storia della repubblica di Firenze* (Firenze, 1875), I, 206; Aurelio Gotti, *Storia del Palazzo Vecchio* (Firenze, 1889), pp. 54–55.

[38] The earliest date found among the commitment records of the *Archivio delle Stinche* is 16 October 1343, in volume 81 in the last inventory of the archives, under *Carcerati*, which reads: 'Registro in foglio intitolato: Liber continens in se omnes et singulos carceratos in Stincis et carceribus Comunis Florentiae recommendatos . . . ac etiam eorum recommendationes, extagimenta et causas et quantitates pro quibus venerunt descripti et recommendati fuerunt' (*Archivio delle Stinche*, 'Inventario del Magistrato dei Soprastanti alle Stinche').

[39] Villani (Lib. VIII, Cap. LXXV, pp. 96–97) is very explicit about this matter: 'Nel detto anno (1304) e mese d'Agosto, essendo la città di Firenze retta per le dodici podestadi, ordinarono oste per perseguitare i bianchi e' ghibellini, i quali aveano ribellate più fortezze e castella nel contado di Firenze, e intra gli altri era rubellato il castello delle Stinche in Valdigrieve a petizione de' Cavalcanti, al quale andò la detta oste, e puoservi l'assedio e combatterlo, e per patti s'arrendero pregioni, e 'l castello fu disfatto, e' pregioni ne furono menati in Firenze, e messi nella nuova pregione fatta per lo comune in su 'l

Cavalcanti,[40] Machiavelli,[41] Buoninsegni,[42] Dino Compagni,[43] Ammirato,[44] Villari,[45] Varchi,[46] and the later historians such as Davidsohn[47] and Perrens[48] recount the same episode.[49] The only element of disagree-

terreno degli Uberti di costa a san Simone, e per lo nome di que' pregioni venuti dalle Stinche, che furono i primi che vi furono messi, la detta pregione ebbe nome le Stinche.'

[40] In the prologue to the first book of Cavalcanti's *Istorie Fiorentine* (pp. 1–2) we read: 'Questo nome Stinche da noi medesimi derivò; conciossia cosa che, essendoci disfatte le Stinche, tra la valle di Greve e la valle di Pesa la quale per la nostra famiglia si teneva, erano murate di nuovo le infernali carceri e così fummo i primi prigioni che ad abitare le cominciammo, venendo della detta fortezza, l'università della plebe la chiamano le Stinche.'

[41] Machiavelli, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[42] After discussing the Castello delle Stinche of the Cavalcanti family, Buoninsegni (pp. 122–123) remarks: 'Et perche furono i primi che vi furono in prigionati, però il luogo è stato sempre nominato le Stinche. . . .'

[43] Isidoro del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua cronica* (Firenze, 1879), II, 292, note 36.

[44] In 1647 Ammirato (I, Lib. IV, p. 229) refers to this episode as follows: 'Era già venuto il tempo di creare il nuovo Gonfaloniere, perciò fú chiamàto in quel luogo Bartolìno Alberti; il quale co' Priori, e con le dodici podestà vegendo i disordini seguìti pensò esser tempo, che si desse opera à trovare à tanti mali alcun rimedio; e sopra tutto parve che si dovesse attendere à ricuperar molti luoghi; i quali in quelli scompìgli da Bianchi, e Ghibellìni erano stati ribellàti. Fu dunque subitament comandáto, che si mettesse in ordine l'hoste, e il primo castello, che si deliberò di espugnarsi furono le Stinche castello de Cavalcanti posto in Val di Grieve, il quale havendo aspettáto alcuna battaglia, alla conoscendo esser messa in darno ogni fatìca, s'arrenderono per prigioni. Il castello fú disfatto, e essi in Firenze condotti, e messi nelle nuove prigioni fatte dalla Repùblica in sul terréno degli Ubèrti di costa à San Simone, diedono il nome della patria loro alle carceri; le quali insino à questi dì son dette le Stinche.'

[45] 'Fra questi castelli primo fu quello delle Stinche, rebellatosi per opera dei Cavalcanti. Esso venne facilmente preso (agosto 1304), e i prigionieri furono condotti nelle carceri nuove, che d'allora in poi si chiamarono le Stinche' (Pasquale Villari, *I primi due secoli della storia di Firenze*, Firenze, 1905, p. 474).

[46] Benedetto Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina* (Firenze, 1838), II, 103.

[47] Robert Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, 1908), IV, 525; *Firenze ai tempi di Dante* (Firenze, 1929), p. 96.

[48] F.-T. Perrens, *Histoire de Florence* (Paris, 1877), III, 104–105.

[49] Cf. Agostino Lapini, *Diario Fiorentino del 252 al 1596* (Firenze, 1900), pp. 15–16, who claims the Castello delle Stinche was captured on 15 April 1304; Buonaccorso Pitti, *Cronica* (Bologna, 1905), p. 112; *Cronichette antiche di vari scrittori*, 'Annali di Simone della Tosa' (Firenze, 1733), p. 158; Giuseppe Maria Mecatti, *Storia genealogica della nobilità, e cittadinanza di Firenze* (Napoli, 1754), p. 42; D. Vincenzio Borghini, *Discorsi* (Firenze, 1755), p. 123; Giovanni Lami, *Lezioni di antichità Toscana e specialmente della città di Firenze* (Firenze, 1766), pp. 354, 374, 410; Rastrelli, *op. cit.*, I, 53; *Firenze antica, e moderna* (Firenze, 1795), VI, 65–66; Fraticelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12; Alfredo Reumont, *Tavole cronologiche e sincrone della storia Fiorentina* (Firenze, 1841), under date of 1304; Emanuele Repetti, *Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana* (Firenze, 1843), V, 476; Federigo Fantozzi, *Pianta geometrica* (Firenze, 1845), pp. 166–167; Beltrani-Scalia, *op. cit.*, p. 268; S. L. Peruzzi, *Storia del commercio e dei banchieri di Firenze* (Firenze, 1868), p. 44; Capponi, *op. cit.*, I, 117; Otto Hartwig, *Ältesten Geschichte der Stadt Florenz* (Marburg, 1880), II, 294; Carlo Falletti-Fossati, *Il tumulto dei Ciompi* (Firenze, 1882), p. 119; Torquato Guar-

ment among the score of documentary references to this event concerns the month during which it occurred and in which we find the doors of the prison opened to its first charges. Among those who refer to a specific month, Villani,[50] Villari,[51] Cavalcanti,[52] and Reumont[53] give August 1304, whereas Rastrelli[54] and Fraticelli[55] speak of September of the same year. Most of the historians of the nineteenth century who rely heavily upon Villani and Ammirato for source material refer to August as the month during which the prison was used for the first time.[56]

The weight of carefully collected evidence and of diligent historical research is convincing reason for contending that it was during August 1304 that the doors of the new prison were opened to prisoners for the first time; that these prisoners were members of the Cavalcanti family; and that as Bianchi and political opponents of the incumbent Neri in Florence, they were seized in their stronghold, the Castello delle Stinche in Chianti.

While it becomes obvious that the new Florentine prison in 1304 adopted the name of the fortress from which the first prisoners came, it is necessary to probe one step deeper in this analysis of the etymology of *Stinche* in order to understand the full meaning of the term. To do this we must return to the *castello* and its geographical position. The Castello delle Stinche was considered to be one of the strongest fortresses maintained by the Ghibellines outside Florence. It was approximately 6.6 kilometers from the Comune di Greve and near Panzano in the Chianti region of Tuscany. It was situated to the southwest of Monte Querciabella on the western side of a homonymous hill that rises 520 meters, dividing the Val di Pesa and the Val di Greve.[57]

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ducci, *Guida illustrata della Val di Pesa* (Sancasciano, 1904), pp. 55–56; Walther von Limburger, *Die Gebäude von Florenz* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 163; Isidoro del Lungo, *I Bianchi e i Neri* (Milano, 1921), p. 349; Giuseppe Conti, *Firenze vecchia* (Firenze, 1928), II, 65; Tammaro de Marinis, *Due fogli volanti sconosciuti del secolo XV* (estratto dal volume *Studi e richerche sulla storia della stampa del quattrocento*, Milano, 1942), p. 5, n. 4.

[50] Villani, *Cronica*, Lib. VIII, Cap. LXXV, pp. 96–97.

[51] Villari, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

[52] Cavalcanti, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–2.

[53] Reumont, *op. cit.*, under the date of 1304.

[54] Rastrelli, *op. cit.*, I, 53.

[55] Fraticelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12. Beltrani-Scalia, an otherwise careful scholar, gives an incorrect year, 1303, for this whole occurrence (p. 268).

[56] Fraticelli (*op. cit.*, pp. 11–12) makes the absurd statement that the prison was constructed within a two-month period before prisoners first arrived in September 1304.

[57] Guarducci, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56; Repetti, *Dizionario*, III, 330 and V, 476. The Castello delle Stinche was seized in August 1304 and undoubtedly suffered some damage at that

The singular nouns *stinco* (m.) and, archaically, *stinca* (f.) are derived from Longobardian roots and refer to the front edge of the tibia, the shin, or shinbone.[58] In Old High German this same part of the anatomy is referred to as *scina*; in German, *schiene*; in Anglo-Saxon, *scinu*; in Middle English, *shine* and *schine*; and in Dutch, *scheen*.[59] It was generically logical to project this anthropomorphic meaning to a topographically similar phenomenon. Thus, in Italian, the words also denoted the top of a hill, the highest ridge of a mountain, the apex of a knoll. There is a close relationship between the archaic *stinca* and *cima* in Italian, for both words refer to the ridge or crest of a hill. The English word *chine* illustrates the same duality, meaning both backbone, or spine, and ridge or crest (*échine* in French and *eschine* in Old French), and has the same Teutonic origin as *scina*, which, as stated above, means tibia.

Although there has been some inconsistency in usage in gender, reference to a ridge or top of a mountain has made use of both *stinco* and *stinca* (plurals, respectively, *stinchi* and *stinche*). One source, under *stinca*, tells us: 'Più altre terre poste in fortissimo luoghi in sulla stinca della

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time. However, not until 1452 was it burned and presumably destroyed. See Domenico di Lionardo Boninsegni, *Storie della città di Firenze dall'anno 1410 al 1460* (Firenze, 1637), p. 101. 'Distrutto', however, does not necessarily connote total destruction or obliteration.

Today the ground known as *Stinche Alto* and the knoll (*poggio tondo*) on which the *castello* presumably was located are owned by Ing. Giorgio Socci, from Lamoli. An eighteenth-century handmade map in the possession of Ing. Socci clearly shows the outlines of this property and the position of the hill. The author made an excursion to this land in June 1958, and a cursory examination reveals the remains of an old building, now in a state of disuse and disrepair, whose ground floor, fortifying wall, oven, and fireplace *may* date from the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The additions above the ground floor are obviously much later, even contemporary. This is probably the only building remaining in this general area of the castello, and although these remains cannot be labeled the Castello delle Stinche, they may have been a portion of the group of buildings that constituted the Cavalcanti stronghold. Further examination under the scrutiny of an architectural historian specializing in medieval *castelli* is necessary to determine the age of the present ruins that stand unattended on this isolated *poggio tondo* near Panzano in Chianti.

[58] Niccolò Tommaseo and Bernardo Bellini suggest: 'Altri forse dal ted. *Stengel*, gambale, pedale, tronco, o dal celt. gall. *Stang*, stecco brocco' (*Dizionario della lingua Italiana*, Torino, 1872, IV, 1216). Nicola Zingarelli gives the root as a fusion of the Longobardian *skinko* and of *stecco* (*Vocabolario della lingua Italiana*, Bologna, 1957, p. 1537). It should be recalled that the Lombards were one of the Teutonic tribes that invaded and settled in the Po Valley between 568 and 774.

[59] Tommaseo and Bellini, *op. cit.*, IV, 1216.

montagna.'[60] Elsewhere in the same source we are given a quotation from Salvini: 'Sotto il nevato monte di Parnasso ch'a lo stinco rivolto invēr Ponente.'[61] Du Cange, in the sixth volume of *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, uses *stinca* and *stincus* to refer both to the Florentine prison and to the apex of a mountain.[62] The same may be said of Pieri's *Toponomastica*[63] and of Repetti's *Dizionario geografico*.[64]

Thus we see how the Cavalcanti fortress, situated on a ridge between Val di Greve and Val di Pesa, was named the Castello delle *Stinche*, the topographic term having been incorporated into the proper name of the castle. More than one crest appears in the terrain of this region, and this fact most likely accounts for the use of the plural rather than the singular: *stinche* rather than *stinco* or *stinca*.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the word *stinche* (f. pl.) was generally used to refer to the Florentine prison, and in that century a high proportion of those imprisoned there were sent as public or private debtors. *Andare alle Stinche* 'to go to the Stinche', or 'going to the Stinche', came to mean 'going into debt' and perhaps being imprisoned for it. References that were to appear in the fifth edition of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, should the printing have gone through the letter 's' (which it did not), include the phrase *Andare alle Stinche*, and can be found in the files of the academy.[65] Somewhat as we use the phrase 'death and taxes', in English, Florentines were known to say 'O nelle Stinche o in chiesa', which meant that one's fate lay between the despairing alternatives of going to prison for debt or dying.[66]

Although the nouns *stinco* and *stinca* have been seen to overlap in their meanings of 'shin' and 'hilltop' in some of the above illustrations, the masculine noun survives in modern Italian as 'shin', and *stinca*, as 'hilltop', has disappeared. Some of the following uses of forms of both words, however, depend upon a knowledge of the etymology of the two words and their duality.

In a collection of popular *frizzetti* (puns or witticisms)[67] another form

[60] *Ibid.* Emphasis added.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 1217. Emphasis added.

[62] VI, 374.

[63] Silvio Pieri, *Toponomastica della Valle dell'Arno* (Rome, 1919), p. 328.

[64] Repetti, *Dizionario*, III, 330.

[65] Accademia della Crusca, Firenze.

[66] Tommaseo and Bellini, *op. cit.*, IV, 1216.

[67] Giuseppe Frizzi, *Dizionario dei frizzetti popolari Fiorentini* (Città di Castello, 1890), p. 235.

of *stinco-stinca* added dual meanings to popular speech. *Stincata* and *stincatura* both refer to a kick in the shins; the first to the kick itself, and the second to the mark it would leave. Frizzi says in his work that the expression 'Tu darai una stincata' meant that you will be put in the *Stinche*. Thus it was a local witticism to refer to going to the *Carceri delle Stinche* as receiving a kick in the shins!

Another extension of the name for the prison was in the verb *stincare*: 'Tu stincasti, eh?' And the person who was so recognized as destined to be sent to the prison was warned, 'Fagli riverenza'.[68] The ironic reverence that the incoming prisoner was forced to pay as he entered was to bend down because the door through which he entered was so low. Berni, as we have already seen, mentioned this same ironic reverence, saying the prison was 'Degno di centomila riverenze'. With the prison, concludes Frizzi, 'caddero anche i due motti notati'.[69]

Although there appears to be no etymological association between *stench* and *stink* in English and *stinche* in Italian, the word *stinche* was used occasionally as a metaphor for bad conditions of life and even for a bad odor. In a sonnet by Jacapo Paganelli, sent, in 1468, to his cousin, Antonio Paganelli, the poet writes: 'E son in una stufa, onde un odore surge, che quel delle Stinche . . .'.[70] In time the word became a generic term for prisons even outside Florence, but the principal reference after the fourteenth century remained that of the prison in Florence.

In the foregoing analysis we have observed not only *from what* but also *how* this Florentine prison, whose construction was going on in 1301 and whose walls contained the first prisoners in 1304, came to be known as *Le Stinche*. It is mostly *a posteriori* interpretation to offer reasons *why* the new prison of the fourteenth century was thus named, but we may suggest that applying the name of the famous and imposing *castello* to the prison added to the disgrace of the Cavalcanti family and of the Ghibellines in general. The dignified name was associated with the indignity of restricted freedom—imprisonment. The nomenclature that was adopted symbolized and stigmatized a political fall. As Schevill says, 'it tickled the rising third estate to deride their enemies, the magnates, by attaching a high-sounding feudal title to a hideous domestic lockup'.[71] There is considerable evidence to contradict Schevill's refer-

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[70] Francesco Flamini, *La lirica Toscana del Rinascimento* (Pisa, 1891), p. 546.

[71] Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

ence to the prison as a 'hideous domestic lockup' in the early fourteenth century when the name was first applied to the prison, but I agree with Schevill that calling the prison *Le Stinche* was, in 1304, a form of social derision.

Prisons in Florence, as elsewhere and at present in Italy, were known originally and officially as *carceri di Comune*. Only *after* the use of the building as a prison is the more specific proper name of a street, a person, or a special locus in a city or region applied to it. This was the case, as noted, with Bellanda, Paliazze, and Volognano.[72] A people tends to popularize official terms and institutional designations, even to refer to a continuously present threat of a dismal fate with ironically affectionate or diminutive terms. We may recall that the prison cell in the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio that held such notables as Cosimo in 1433 and Savonarola in 1498 has been referred to as *L'alberghettino*.[73] To the masses lacking political and economic power, living under threat of fines, debts, convictions for violations of municipal or guild ordinances, the centralized prison was a composite symbol of a fate shared by acquaintances and family members. The high-walled group of buildings[74] represented an ominous end for serious offenders and political traitors. But to minor law violators it meant a place of confinement for definite periods of time[75]—an innovation in the evolution of punishment.

For the Florentine contemporary to the construction of the prison and to the first commitments to the institution labeling the prison *Le Carcere delle Stinche* was indeed an oxymoron, at once both facetious and accurate. With time and the vacillations of political fortune, *Le Stinche* became, as we have noted, a generic term for prisons in general. In Siena, Pistoia, and elsewhere prisons were referred to as *Le Stinche*[76] and the origin of the name was lost both to city officials and to some later chroniclers. Perhaps if the Cavalcanti *castello* had remained in use by the family, the name would not have stuck for the prison. Simultaneous

[72] See note 25. Beltrani-Scalia, *op. cit.*, p. 266, says: '. . . verso il 1267 in una delle torri vi fu tenuto Geri da Volognano si vuole che da lui quel carcere abbia preso il nome di Volognano'.

[73] Gotti, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–77.

[74] For some data on the measurements and the general physical plant of the prison, see Becchi, *op cit.*, pp. 41–48, and Fraticelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–22.

[75] *Archivio delle Stinche*, vol. 81 (16 ottobre 1343–31 marzo 1346) to vol. 126 (20 maggio 1515–23 maggio 1520), *et passim*.

[76] Not always was the name used officially in other cities, but the populace referred to their local prison by this name.

disuse (and later destruction) of the illustrious estate[77] and initial (and continued) use of the prison that was endowed with its name accounted for the terminological retention of *Stinche* for the prison.

Very shortly after the prison was opened, official Florentine documents began using the name *Stinche* with reference to the institution. The earliest city document to use the name in any form is one of the *provvisioni* of 28 February 1305, in which reference is made to the 'Superstites carcerum de Stinchis et carceratorum in eis ubi erant carcerati Communis Florentie qui capti fuerunt in castro de Stinchis . . . .'[78] This official document firmly establishes the fact that the inhabitants of the Castello delle Stinche were imprisoned here. The first record of a commitment to the Stinche prison may be found in volume 81 of the *Archivio delle Stinche* under the date 16 October 1343.[79] As previously mentioned, the sacking and burning of much of the prison during an uprising against the tyrannical rule of the Duke of Athens in 1343 accounts for the loss of commitment records between 1304 and October 1343.

In *provvisioni* and *statuti* subsequent to 28 February 1305, the new name for the prison in Florence is found without reference to the statement 'capti fuerunt in castro de Stinchis', and it is part of the heading of a provision even as early as 4 May 1305: 'Sindicatus contra superstites Stincarum'.[80]

The history of the prison from this point on, the innovations introduced in administration and treatment of prisoners, the position of the prison in the history of penology, an analysis of the records of commitment and discharge of offenders, changes in the criminal statutes, and an interpretive theoretical discussion of the relationship of these phenomena of crime and punishment to the culture milieu of the *Rinascimento* in Florence—all of these topics constitute significant areas for further examination. I shall conclude with but a brief reference to the fact of the structure itself and what is remembered of it today.

For over five hundred years Le Stinche prison occupied a large block of real estate—a quadrilateral area isolated from the rest of the city by a street on each side. Before the buildings inside the surrounding walls were torn down, the streets that bordered the prison were: Via del De-

[77] See note 57.

[78] *Provvisioni*, 12, c. 107, 28 February 1305. In general, this provision states that the superintendents of the prison must pay the amounts which debtors, imprisoned in the Stinche, owe their creditors should such debtors escape from the prison.

[79] *Archivio delle Stinche*, 81, c. 3^{r}, 16 October 1343.

[80] *Provvisioni*, 12, c. 149^{r}, 4 May 1305.

luvio (east), Via del Palagio (north) Via del Mercantino, also called San Simone (west), and Via del Lavatoi (south).[81] On 15 August 1833 Leopold II approved the sale of the prison and the buildings were demolished;[82] the Accademia Filarmonica, and later the Teatro Verdi, which still stands, were architectural euphemisms that replaced the prison. The street names have changed over the course of time. After destruction of the prison, Via del Mercatino was changed to Via dell' Isola delle Stinche as a reminder of the site of the former prison. Only Via del Lavatoi on the south retained its name when other streets were changed to Via Verdi (east), Via Ghibellina (north), Via dell'Isola delle Stinche (west), the present streets surrounding the area that was formerly Le Carceri delle Stinche.[83]

From Via Torta, past the small square in front of the Chiesa di San Simone, toward Via Ghibellina, the name of *Stinche* has become a short street reminiscent of a long history, a small stretch of land instead of a large building, and an open area that recalls a former enclosure. From a Ghibelline fortress on the summit of a hill in Val di Greve to a prison of significance during the early Renaissance, and finally to a contemporary street in Florence, the name *Stinche* has evolved and survived.

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[81] Demetrio Guccerelli, *Stradario storico biografico della città di Firenze* (Firenze, 1928) pp. 258–259.

[82] There are contradictions among major sources regarding the date when Leopold II approved the sale and the date of destruction of the prison. Presumably both the sale and demolition occurred during the same year. Reference to 1833 may be found in: Fraticelli, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Guccerelli, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Limburger, *op. cit.*, p. 163; Bigazzi, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Fantozzi, *Pianta geometrica*, p. 167; in the sketch (referred to in n. 83) found in the Museo Storico Topografico, Firenze Com'Era, Firenze. Reference to 1835 may be found in: Becchi, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Beltrani-Scalia, *op. cit.*, p. 437; Carlo Peri, *Notizie sulla riforma delle prigioni in Toscana* (Firenze, 1850), p. 207. The weight of reliable evidence available to the author, including the fact that Fraticelli described the new building replacing the prison in 1834, indicates that the correct date is 1833.

[83] For several sketches and plans of the prison see: 'Le Stinche. Le Carceri delle Stinche, Demolite nel 1833', No. 101120, Ignoto Sec. XIX and 'Antiche Stinche. Le Carceri delle Stinche', No. 16501, Emilio Burci (1811–1877), both in the Museo Storico Topografico, Firenze Com'Era, Piazza S. Maria Nuova, No. 21, Firenze; Giuseppe Boffito e Attilio Mori, *Firenze nelle vedute e piante* (Firenze, 1926), pp. 8–9, where there are reproductions of two drawings of Le Stinche prison from Cod. Vaticano lat. n. 5699, a. 1469, and Cod. Vaticano-Urbinate n. 277, a. 1472. See also Guido Biagi, *The Private Life of the Renaissance Florentine* (Firenze, 1896), p. 60, where appears an engraving from Politian's *Conjurationis Pactianae commentarium* (Firenze, 1769), p. 127.

The 'Taste for Tudors' since 1940[1]

I

PROFESSOR F. J. FISHER wrote in 1940 that the twentieth century has been 'busily recreating the sixteenth century in its own image'.[2] Historical re-evaluation is always in part narcissistic. Two world wars have left their scars on our view of history and, if nothing else, have given us insights into the Tudor age which, like our own, faced ideological wars of survival. The quest for economic and military security and the dream of the welfare state have led the twentieth century to forsake not only the ethical and institutional standards of the nineteenth century but also to deny its interpretation of history. The ancient shibboleths, the familiar landmarks of Tudor history, and the comfortable generalizations about despotism, mercantilism, and 'new monarchy' are all being swept aside by a generation of historians who claim greater understanding of the past.[3]

Experience with the aims, methods, and weaknesses of state planning has shifted historical interest from 'Whig' reliance upon the institutional history of parliament to a more contemporary preoccupation

[1] This essay is one in a series of bibliographical articles sponsored by the Conference on British Studies. It deals primarily with the period from Henry VII through Mary, since a separate essay will be devoted to the reign of Elizabeth. Since the new edition of Conyers Read's *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485–1603* (Oxford, 1959), larger than the earlier by about one-half, includes a full review of historical scholarship to date, there seems to be no particular merit in achieving completeness, and instead I have endeavored to indicate the nature and direction of Tudor scholarship throughout the last two decades. Readers who are interested in a somewhat less historically oriented bibliography should consult Elizabeth Nugent, *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1956).

[2] *Economic History Rev.* X (1940), 96.

[3] Much of modern scholarship has been incorporated into three fine textbooks which have appeared during the last decade. S. T. Bindoff, *Tudor England* (Harmondsworth, 1950) is a brilliant synthesis emphasizing the economic aspects of Tudor life. J. D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors, 1485–1558* (Oxford, 1952) is somewhat more orthodox in its approach, and G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1955) is a sparkling but controversial achievement of compression.

with the function of government, the structure of society, and the actual operation of personality within the bureaucratic organization. The Smithfield fires which so shocked the religious and moral sensibilities of our Victorian forefathers and were viewed by them as appalling examples of bigotry and despotism have lost some of their sensationalism in a world whose sense of proportion has been warped by the knowledge of Dachau and Buchenwald. Somehow the description 'despotic' no longer seems to be an adequate or even a just characterization of Tudor government and methods. Unconsciously, we associate the great 'Tudor despots' with some of the more lurid examples of modern tyranny, and, in contrast, the past seems considerably more civilized than the present. Moreover, we are becoming increasingly aware that Henry VIII was a 'constitutional monarch', limited and ruling by divine, natural, and common law.

More and more we see mirrored in the past the problems of the present, and the ideological convulsions of the twentieth century seem to have their prototypes in the sixteenth. More accustomed than our Edwardian grandfathers to the claims of absolute truth, we can better appreciate the strife over religious verity set loose by the Reformation. Modern wars waged in the name of secularized theologies have revealed the essential dilemma of the sixteenth century—the union of political systems with dogmatic truth and the dangerous association that can be made between heresy and treason. As E. G. Rupp has written: there was in the past a tendency 'to deplore the sweat and heat of this battle for "opinions" ' until 'the advent of the new Wars of (Secular) Religion' reintroduced the possibility of 'truths worth dying for'.[4] Our modern 'taste for Tudors' is the result of a sense of rapport which has produced a new appreciation of the sixteenth century.

II

The most striking development during the last two decades has been the reëvaluation of the term 'Tudor despotism'. Crudely, the 'Whig' view can be stated as follows: a Lancastrian parliamentary experiment, which collapsed under the impact of economic, political, and moral ineptitude, was followed by Henry VII who created the 'new monarchy', ruled despotically, curbed the nobility, cultivated the mercantile and landed classes, and sacrificed liberty for security. Total despotism was finally

[4] E. G. Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition* (Cambridge, 1947), pp. xiv–xv.

achieved under Henry VIII, who destroyed the independence of the medieval Catholic church of Rome as his father had crushed the independence of the feudal baronage. Henry's ultimate act of violence to the medieval past was accomplished by purchasing the support of the 'new men' of the reign by lavishing upon them the loot of the monastic lands and by making Parliament a partner to the vast social, economic, and religious revolution of the reign. Henry VIII sired a vigorous House of Commons and Elizabeth I ruled it by love and tact, but the Stuarts reaped what the Tudors had sown—the destruction of personal despotism by a parliament grown accustomed to being called upon to settle the affairs of God and man and whose members had grown fat upon the loot of the church property. Like the walls of Jericho, this 'Whig' interpretation is tumbling down.

The phrase 'new monarchy' was coined by John Richard Green in 1876 to signal the end of the medieval era both in England and Europe. Today, however, the Tudor period is losing most of its tidiness; medievalism persists in encroaching upon the Tudor preserve while the newness of the 'new monarchy' is constantly being pushed back into the decades before 1485. Two areas of attack upon the concept of a 'new monarchy' are discernible. First, there is the view that portrays Henry VII as part of the Yorkist pattern of royal development. Presumably, whatever was new under the Tudors had been inherited from Edward IV and Richard III. In this connection see R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* (London, 1953); F. W. Brooks, *The Council of the North* (London, 1953, Historical Asso. Pub. G25); B. P. Wolffe, 'The Management of English Royal Estates under the Yorkist Kings', *English Hist. Rev.* LXXI (1956); and J. R. Lander, 'Edward IV: the Modern Legend: and a Revision', *History*, New Series, XLI (1956).[5] The second thesis pictures the first Tudor monarch as being essentially a medieval man who had as his model Henry II or Edward I. G. R. Elton in his *England Under the Tudors* (London, 1955) presents the medievalist's case, arguing that Henry VII's monarchy 'was not essentially different' from that of Edward I and that 'it fulfilled much the same ambitions and purpose with much the same instruments' (p. 11). While the Yorkists claim the newness of the Tudor monarchs for themselves, the medievalists tend to postpone any fundamental break with the past until the decade of the 1530s. Consequently,

[5] J. R. Lander, 'The Yorkist Council and Administration, 1461-1485', *English Hist. Rev.* LXXIII, 1958, shows how elusive the truth can be about the fifteenth century if only because of the frustrating scarcity of material.

A. R. Myers (*England in the Late Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth, 1952) does not conclude the medieval period until the Reformation, and Mr. Elton (*The Tudor Revolution in Government*, Cambridge, 1953) equates the concept of a 'new monarchy' with the growth of a bureaucratic administration separate from the personality of the sovereign and with a life and independence of its own—in other words, a national as opposed to a royal government. This 'revolution', presumably, was originally the work of Thomas Cromwell and was further developed by the great Elizabethan statesmen.

In the midst of this clamor to dismiss the 'new monarchy', one author has evinced a certain reluctance to throw out the baby with the bath water. W. C. Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485–1547* (Baton Rouge, 1952), detects considerable originality under Henry VII in terms of the thoroughness of Tudor administration and the development of chamber government, and he suggests that there was a 'system' to Tudor chamber government long before Thomas Cromwell appeared in his rôle of administrative genius. Professor Richardson's work on the revival and extensive, almost revolutionary, use of feudal techniques on the part of the first Tudors has been further studied as it pertains to the expansion of the royal prerogative and the development of fiscal feudalism. (See particularly J. Hurstfield, 'The Revival of Feudalism in Early Tudor England', *History*, New Series, XXXVII, 1952, and S. E. Thorne's edition of Robert Constable, *Prerogativa Regis*, New Haven, 1949.)[6]

If the 'new monarchy' has turned out to be somewhat less than new, we can at least say that Henry VII has recently been exposed to considerable new evaluation. The old notion of a cold, thin-lipped, Machiavellian sovereign with the mind of an actuary and the morals of an Italian banker is rapidly receding before the light spread by G. R. Elton, 'Henry VII: Rapacity and Remorse', *Historical Jour.* I (1958), and C. Morris, *The Tudors* (New York, 1957). Though Henry has been rescued from the limbo of a dehumanized monarch, he has been the subject of current criticism ever since the fascinating thesis that Henry, not Richard III, might have murdered the little princes in the Tower hit the popular press (J. Tey, *The Daughter of Time*, London, 1951).[7] In

[6] Many of the works cited should be read in the light of Anthony Steel, 'The Financial Background of the Wars of the Roses', *History*, New Series, XL (1955), which is a convenient summary of his book, *The Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377–1485* (Cambridge, 1954).

[7] A more scholarly analysis and indictment of Henry VII can be found in Paul M. Kendall, *Richard the Third* (London, 1955), Appendix I, 'Who Murdered the "Little Princes"?' See also W. G. Zeeveld, 'A Tudor Defense of Richard III', *PMLA* LV (1940).

this connection, Henry still awaits his apologia other than A. R. Myers' short article, 'The Character of Richard III', *History Today* IV (1954).

If modern historians are denying the existence of a 'new monarchy' they are also casting doubt upon the existence of Tudor tyranny. The nineteenth-century image of a fully structured and despotic government does not bear scrutiny. Research into the administrative details of government and analysis of the operation of the Tudor bureaucratic system presents quite a different picture. To Elton's and Richardson's accounts of early Tudor government must be added the warning of J. R. Hooker, 'Some Cautionary Notes on Henry VII's Household and Chamber "System" ' (*Speculum* XXXIII, 1958), in which the author observes that it is extraordinarily difficult to generalize about the nature of Tudor government since the question of office is often a matter of the personality of the officeholder and 'the performer becomes inseparable from the performance' (p. 75). Finally, law enforcement and law effectiveness, those two most elusive topics, have been in part touched upon by two important and pioneer articles: M. W. Beresford, 'The Common Informer, the Penal Statutes, and Economic Regulation', *Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, X (1957),[8] and Elton, 'Informing for Profit: a Sidelight on Tudor Methods of Law-enforcement', *Cambridge Hist. Jour.* XI (1954).[9]

Though much of the testimony being gleaned by Messrs. Elton, Wolffe, Hooker, *et al.* pictures a random, undirected mechanism simply evolving out of expediency and the actions of 'individuals working in a somewhat unorganized and haphazard manner',[10] certain broad outlines are still discernible, especially in matters of finance. W. C. Richardson, 'Some Financial Expedients of Henry VIII' (*Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, VII, 1954), emphasizes the opportunistic aspects of Henry's government,[11] but two other groups of studies show that possibly there was considerably more system than previously thought. There is growing evidence that the sale of monastic lands was somewhat more rational, businesslike, and profitable than heretofore suspected, and that Henry VIII was a more astute business man than many historians are

[8] Another aspect of the Tudors' difficulties with law corruption, evasion, and enforcement is treated by G. D. Ramsay. 'The Smuggler's Trade: a Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Series, II (1952).

[9] More of the same can be found in G. R. Elton, *Star Chamber Stories* (London, 1958).

[10] G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 9.

[11] See also G. Hammersley, 'The Crown Woods and their Exploitation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research* XXX (1957).

willing to credit. (See J. A. Youings, 'The Terms of the Disposal of the Devon Monastic Lands, 1536–58', *English Hist. Rev.* LXIX, 1954, and H. J. Habakkuk, 'The Market for Monastic Property, 1539–1603', *Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, X, 1958.) It is also becoming apparent that there was a concerted effort on the part of the government to increase its feudal revenues, especially those from wardship. (See three articles by J. Hurstfield, 'Revival of Feudalism in Early Tudor England', *History*, New Series, XXXVII, 1952; 'The Profits of Fiscal Feudalism, 1541–1602', *Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, VIII, 1955; 'Corruption and Reform under Edward VI and Mary: the Example of Wardship', *English Hist. Rev.* LXVIII, 1953; also H. E. Bell, *An Introduction to the Court of Wards and Liveries*, Cambridge, 1953.)

The results of more careful inspection of the realities of Tudor government has tended to confuse the picture. On one subject, however, there is substantial agreement; the description 'despotic' no longer is considered an accurate or an adequate term to apply to the Tudor governmental process either in fact or in theory. It may have been personal government but it certainly was not tyrannical or absolute.[12] Exactly what the Tudor system was is still a matter of conjecture and dispute, and on the theoretical side the subject has received some, but certainly not sufficient, investigation.[13] As usual, Mr. Elton has decided views as to the constitutional and medieval nature of Tudor political theory and the structure of sixteenth-century kingship. (See his 'Political Creed of Thomas Cromwell', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Series, VI, 1956.) Besides Elton's work there is F. Le Van Baumer, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New Haven, 1940); W. G. Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948); E. H. Kantorowicz's controversial and at times brilliant account, *The King's Two Bodies, a Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1958); and finally, C. Morris' sparkling and concise *Political Thought in England, Tyndale to Hooker* (London, 1953). In the opposite camp are L. B. Smith, 'English Treason Trials

[12] W. O. Williams, *Tudor Gwynedd* (London, 1958), shows how little effect Henry VIII's legislation really had upon social change in Wales or how little the Act of Union actually modified the ancient administrative methods. This work is the result of and was originally the introduction to Mr. Williams' *Calendar of the Caernarvonshire Quarter Sessions Records, 1541–58*, I (Caernarvonshire Historical Society, 1956).

[13] The two best discussions of the operation of early Tudor government and the balance between statute, precedent, and prerogative are W. H. Dunham's articles: 'Wolsey's Rule of the King's Whole Council', *American Hist. Rev.* XLIX (1944); and 'Henry VIII's Whole Council and its Parts', *Huntington Library Quarterly* VII (1943).

and Confessions in the Sixteenth Century' (*Jour. of the History of Ideas* XV, 1954), who suggests that Tudor England manifests some of the less pleasant mental aspects of modern totalitarianism, and L. Stone, 'Political Programme of Thomas Cromwell' (*Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research* XXIV, 1951), who argues that both the common law and Parliament were in very real danger 'of extinction by the armed autocracy of the efficient despot' (p. 9).[14]

The questions of Tudor despotism, state policy, and governmental efficiency have also been handled from the standpoint of economics in a series of important articles by Fisher, Stone, and Nef.[15] The opinions of these three historians represent a major revision of the Edwardian and Victorian picture of Tudor England as a highly organized, paternalistic, and despotic state in which mercantilistic laws and governmental regulation of most aspects of life effectually produced what the nineteenth century regarded as a regimented society. The idea of mercantilism as an effective economic force was under attack long before 1940 by those who pointed out that law enforcement and government policy are two quite different things.[16] Professor F. J. Fisher in his 'Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth-Century England' (*Economic History Rev.* X, 1940) further modified the orthodox belief by indicating that state control of economic life was in direct proportion to the condition of the overseas trade and the general state of prosperity; boom periods produced liberal government policy and free trade while depression years brought forth state control of exports, imports, and exchange in much the same fashion as the great depression of the 1930s produced economic nationalism in almost every nation in the world. Professor Fisher's theories have in part been challenged by L. Stone, 'State Control in Sixteenth-Century England' (*Economic History Rev.* XVII, 1947), who argues that Tudor economic laws were more effective than is sometimes thought, and that the motive for government regulation was the quest for security both from social revolution at home and military attack from abroad and was not merely a matter of economic prosperity.

[14] See G. R. Elton's answer, 'Parliamentary Drafts, 1529–1540', *Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research* XXV (1952).

[15] J. U. Nef, 'War and Economic Progress, 1540–1640', *Economic History Rev.* XII (1942).

[16] For example, see A. Marshall, *Industry and Trade* (London, 1919), pp. 719–720. For more recent works see: P. Ramsey, 'Overseas Trade in the Reign of Henry VIII: the Evidence of Customs Accounts', *Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, VI (1953), and R. de Roover, *Gresham on Foreign Exchange: an Essay on Early English Mercantilism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949).

The position of Tudor economic theory, purpose of state regulation, and manipulation of the economic and social impulses of life are intimately associated with political theory while the gulf that existed between theoretical aims and actual law enforcement was constantly mitigating and distorting the realities of Tudor planned economy. Both problems deserve further study.[17] An interesting start, however, has been made by Mr. Elton in 'An Early Tudor Poor Law' (*Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, VI, 1953), which reveals both the modernity and the extent of welfare legislation under Henry VIII.

In the area of state organization, operation, and theory, one problem remains—that of personality and responsibility. Most writers emphasize the personal nature of Tudor government, but the question arises: whose personality dominated, king's or minister's? More specifically, was it Cromwell or Henry VIII who initiated and guided the policies that underlay the Reformation? Only Mr. Elton ('King or Minister?: the Man Behind the Henrician Reformation', *History*, XXXIX, 1954), in league with Messrs. Parker, Ogle, and Zeeveld,[18] has dared to suggest that Pollard's classic account of Henry as the determined intelligence directing the Reformation may be wrong.[19] This is a controversy only recently joined; the returns are not yet all in, and we must wait for further arguments such as Elton's 'The Evolution of a Reformation Statute', *English Hist. Rev.* LXIV (1949).

III

Reformation scholarship is approximately where it was four hundred years ago; there is still almost complete inability on the part of Catholics and Protestants to comprehend their opponents' points of view. The controversy is less intense than in the past and we no longer burn the

[17] See two articles by A. A. Ruddock, 'London Capitalists and the Decline of Southampton in the Early Tudor Period', *Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, II (1949), and 'The Earliest Records of the High Court of Admiralty, 1515–1558', *Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research* XXII (1949); also G. Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake* (London, 1954), which is the story of Anglo-Spanish trade relations and their connection with foreign policy, 1485–1558.

[18] F. M. Parker, 'Was Thomas Cromwell a Machiavellian?' *Jour. of Economic History* I (1950) (Parker says yes); A. Ogle, *The Tragedy of the Lollards' Tower* (Oxford, 1949); W. G. Zeeveld, 'Thomas Starkey and the Cromwellian Polity', *Jour. of Modern History* XV (1943).

[19] For the opposite view see R. Koebner, '"The Imperial Crown of this Realm": Henry VIII, Constantine the Great, and Polydore Vergil', *Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research* XXVI (1953).

participants. Though time may have mellowed the protagonists, it has not, however, changed the issues.[20] For Catholics the Reformation remains a bad thing and Henry VIII a bad man; conversely, Protestants, though somewhat uncertain on the subject of Henry, are unanimous in their approval of the break with Rome. One thing that both faiths have in common is a growing interest in the religious problems of the century, and, as Conyers Read's new edition of his bibliography of Tudor history indicates, the field of religion is growing considerably faster than most. During the last fifteen years ecclesiastical affairs have lagged behind cultural and social subjects, which have risen 115 per cent, but religious topics have increased at almost twice the rate of economic history, which has risen only 30 per cent.

The most judicious recent accounts of the religious revolution in England are by clerics. E. G. Rupp, *The English Protestant Tradition* (Cambridge, 1947) is sympathetic to the reformers and their aims, and, along with A. Ogle, *The Tragedy of the Lollards' Tower* (Oxford, 1949),[21] emphasizes the Lollard and indigenous nature of the religious protest. H. Maynard Smith, *Henry VIII and the Reformation* (London, 1948) is a straightforward Anglican approach, and Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (London, 1950–1954) is by far the best work on the subject and at the same time the fairest Catholic account of the whole Reformation period. To these general narratives should be added two briefer studies by laymen—M. Powicke, *The Reformation in England* (London, 1941), which is the work of a fine medievalist who sees the Reformation as an act of state, and L. B. Smith, 'The Reformation and the Decay of Medieval Ideals' (*Church History* XXIV, 1955), which views the religious revolution as part of the spiritual collapse of medieval Christendom.

The lessons and experiences of the twentieth century have also had their impact upon the religious field of history. For better or worse, modern historians have imposed the present upon the past. The association between heresy and treason, and the interplay between religious ideologies and social and economic grievances are scarcely new topics. Recently, however, there has been renewed interest in the Tudor efforts to curb and control the wave of socially and religiously disturbing ideas set loose by the Reformation. H. C. White, *Social Criticism in*

[20] K. Booth, 'The Problem of the Breach with Rome, 1529–34', *The Month*, New Series, X (1953).

[21] See also H. G. Russell, 'Lollard Opposition to Oaths by Creatures', *American Hist. Rev.* LI (1946).

Popular Religious Literature in the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1944) is a useful and suggestive compilation of quotations; L. B. Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics* (Princeton, 1953) discusses the government's fear that religious revolution in the church would produce social revolution in the state; M. MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534–1642* (Toronto, 1958) studies the official sermon as an instrument of indoctrination and control of the popular mind; and C. C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529–1545)* (Philadelphia, 1953) is a detailed analysis of the English primer as one of the forces that shaped the public mind and as one of the means by which the government hoped to mold and guide the religious upheaval of the age.

IV

The twentieth century's conception of Tudor England may be in the process of fundamental change but one fact remains constant—the popularity of Tudor biography. If anything, the 'taste for Tudors' is on the increase and so is the number of amateur historians who see in the splendor and vitality of Tudor personality a ready sale for their books. The two most prolific of the popular authors in current years have been Philip Lindsay[22] and Theodore Maynard.[23] A relative newcomer is Sir Arthur MacNalty[24] who has revived a favorite question: medically speaking, what was wrong with Henry VIII? The thesis that he sustained a brain injury as a consequence of a fall from his horse is considerably more convincing than the older argument that the king had syphilis. More recently, two other works have appeared: C. F. Ferguson, *Naked to Mine Enemies: The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (Boston, 1958) and H. W. Chapman, *The Last Tudor King: a Study of Edward VI* (London, 1958), both of which are biographies by nonprofessionals.

Strangely enough the professional historians have been noticeably inactive in the field of biography, and by and large the giants of a generation ago have remained unchallenged. Pollard's *Henry VIII* (London, 1905), *Thomas Cranmer* (New York, 1904), and *Wolsey* (London, 1929) continue to be the classic accounts. R. W. Chambers, *Thomas*

[22] *The Secret of Henry the Eighth* (London, 1953); *The Queen Maker—a Portrait of John Dudley* (London, 1951).

[23] *Henry the Eighth* (Milwaukee, 1949); *Humanist as Hero; the Life of Sir Thomas More* (New York, 1947); *The Crown and the Cross; a Biography of Thomas Cromwell* (New York, 1950); *The Life of Thomas Cranmer* (Chicago, 1956); *Bloody Mary* (Milwaukee, 1958). Mr. Maynard espouses the liberal Catholic view.

[24] *Henry VIII, a Difficult Patient* (London, 1953).

More (London, 1935) and J. A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (London, 1926) remain unrivaled. Only the lesser figures have attracted revisionist biographies and we must add to the list of old masters the names of H. F. M. Prescott, *A Spanish Tudor, the Life of 'Bloody Mary'* (London, 1940), P. M. Kendall, *Richard the Third* (London, 1955), G. Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (Boston, 1941), and W. Schenk, *Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England* (London, 1950).

Clerical figures continue to receive relatively greater attention than lay, and recently Cranmer,[25] Latimer,[26] Ridley,[27] Ponet,[28] and Bucer[29] have all found their biographers. The man, however, who continues to exercise the greatest fascination is Sir Thomas More, who is burdened with an ever-increasing bibliography.[30] The enigma of More the humanist, the statesman, the martyr, and the Utopian still baffles and attracts the twentieth century which has had sufficient experience of martyrdom to recognize the uniqueness of the humanistic martyr.[31] Chambers' *More* with its insistence upon the medieval orientation of the *Utopia* remains the standard interpretation, but recently two other theses have been offered. Russell Ames, *Citizen Thomas More and his Utopia* (Princeton, 1949) argues a sophisticated version of the Kautsky hypothesis—that More and his *Utopia* were products of a capitalistic attack upon feudalism and a middle-class humanistic criticism of a decaying social order. J. H. Hexter, *More's Utopia: The Biography of an Idea* (Princeton, 1952) portrays More as both the realist and the idealist: the astute lawyer who regarded the sin of pride as the cancer that eats at

[25] G. W. Bromiley, *Thomas Cranmer, Theologian* (New York, 1956); E. G. Rupp, *Six Makers of English Religion, 1500–1700* (New York, 1957) has excellent chapters on Cranmer, Tyndale, and Foxe.

[26] A. G. Chester, *Hugh Latimer, Apostle to the English* (Philadelphia, 1954); H. S. Darby, *Hugh Latimer* (London, 1953).

[27] J. C. Ridley, *Nicholas Ridley, a Biography* (London, 1957). Compare G. W. Bromiley's 32-page pamphlet: *Nicholas Ridley* (Church Book Room Press, 1950, Great Churchmen Series No. 19).

[28] W. S. Hudson, *John Ponet, Advocate of Limited Monarchy* (Chicago, 1942).

[29] C. Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1946).

[30] To name but a few of the better works: T. Maynard, *Humanist as Hero: The Life of Sir Thomas More* (New York, 1947); E. E. Reynolds, *St. Thomas More* (New York, 1953); J. Farrow, *The Story of Thomas More* (New York, 1954). E. L. Surtz, 'Interpretations of Utopia', *Catholic Hist. Rev.* XXXVIII (1952), has a convenient summary of modern scholarship.

[31] The publication of Ro. Ba., *Lyfe of Syr Thomas More, sometymes Lord Chancellor of England*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock and P. E. Hallett (London, 1950, E.E.T.S., O.S., no. 222), and E. F. Rogers, *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* (Princeton, 1947), has added to our understanding of More.

the heart of the commonwealth and who endeavored to construct his Utopia so as to limit and control the evil effects of pride; and the religious dreamer who sought 'to remould human society into a holy community, to bring it into closer conformity to God's law by the imposition of a firm but just and righteous discipline on the daily life and doings of all citizens' (p. 94).

V

If the popularity of things Tudor has retained its vigor and the lessons of the twentieth century have modified our view of the sixteenth century, then it might be said that a new discipline in historical research has been the handmaid, or, more correctly, the scullery maid, who has sustained and complemented the other two. Tudor history, ever since Tawney and Pollard pioneered the way, has been rewritten on the basis of more exacting standards. The truth, or what passes for the truth, is today being sought in the slow, meticulous, and dispassionate review of the sources.

We are picking away at the details—administrative, local, personal, and economic—and under the impact of such investigation the ancient legends are fading away. A case in point is two studies of the commons' supplication of 1532 by Elton (*English Hist. Rev.* LXVI, 1951) and J. P. Cooper (*ibid.* LXXII, 1957) in which the multitude of drafts and fragments which preceded the final supplication are scrutinized with loving devotion. Whether the uninitiated will be any clearer in his own mind after reading these two articles is beside the point. He will at least be closer to the truth that things are not as simple as previous historians have sometimes imagined.[32] In economics there is what W. G. Hoskins has described as the 'laundry bill' approach to history.[33] It is on this level—the careful inspection and accumulation of minutiae—that major advances in scholarship and comprehension are being made. E. Kerridge, 'The Movement of Rents, 1540–1640' (*Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, VI, 1953) has taken a long and careful look at a limited number of estate records and has succeeded in seriously questioning the notion that rents lagged behind prices throughout most of the century.

[32] For still another example see Elton, 'The Quondam of Rievaulx', *Jour. of Economic History* VII (1956), in which the author deprives Abbot Edward Kirkby of any claim to a martyr's crown.

[33] W. G. Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Series, VI (1956).

W. K. Jordan has likewise worked on the accumulated evidence of minutiae—a fascinating study of philanthropy as revealed in hundreds of Tudor wills.[34] Another example of the same process is the time-honored controversy over enclosure which has lost none of its fervor[35] by having most of its facts and figures swept aside by Eric Kerridge's questioning article, 'The Returns of the Inquisitions of Depopulation', *English Hist. Rev.* LXX (1955), and by P. J. Bowden, 'Movement in Wool Prices, 1490–1610', *Yorkshire Bull. of Economic and Social Research* IV (1952). The present state of the enclosure controversy is, like most Tudor topics, in a state of flux. As Joan Thirsk has pointed out in her admirable review of the subject: 'the truth is that enclosures took many forms', and neither were caused solely by sheep nor were they always acts of unmitigated ruthlessness.[36]

The efforts to impose a new rigor upon Tudor scholarship has been helped by the continued publication of original sources. The *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish* is now available through Mary's reign; the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* is complete for Henry VII, volume one of *The Close Rolls, 1485–1500* has recently been printed, and Bishop Tunstall's register (1530–1559) for Durham was edited and calendared by Gladys Hinde in 1952. The county and historical societies have been equally busy. The Catholic Record Society (vol. XLV, 1950) published Archdeacon Harpsfield's visitation of Canterbury in 1557; the Sussex Record Society (vol. LVI, 1957) brought out *The Lay Subsidy Rolls for The County of Sussex, 1524–25*, edited by Julian Cornwall; the Lincoln Record Society has published in three volumes the *Visitations of the Diocese of Lincoln, 1517–31*, edited by Hamilton Thompson (London, 1940–1947); and L. S. Snell has compiled a series of *Documents towards a History of the Reformation in Cornwall, No. 1: The Chantry Certificates for Cornwall* (Exeter, 1953). Not only has the level of scholarship risen, but the scope of professional interest has broadened. It is true that group biography has not yet been utilized extensively in the early Tudor period and Henry VIII's parliaments await their Neale. Some work, however, has been done along these lines. Using the term 'group biography' with considerable latitude we might include such studies as J. S. Roskell,

[34] W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480–1660* (New York, 1959).

[35] See also F. V. Semenov, *Enclosures and Peasants' Revolts in England in the Sixteenth Century* (Moscow, 1949); W. G. Hoskins, *Essays in Leicestershire History* (Liverpool, 1950); M. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (London, 1954).

[36] J. Thirsk, *Tudor Enclosures* (London, 1959, Historical Asso. Pub. G41), p. 3.

'The Social Composition of the Commons in a Fifteenth-Century Parliament', *Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research* XXIV (1951); B. Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait* (London, 1955), which is the story of the Johnson brothers and their friends and relations; M. L. Loane, *Masters of the English Reformation* (London, 1954); and E. Auerbach, *Tudor Artists—a Study in the Royal Service and of Portraiture on Illuminated Documents* (London, 1954), which is as much a source book as a group analysis.

To date the early Tudor period has escaped the worst of the 'Storm over the Gentry'.[37] All the signs, however, point to a full-scale reëvaluation of the notion of 'new men', who commenced their 'rise' under the economic and social tutelage of Henry VII and who fortified their position with the loot of the monastic lands during the Reformation years. The vital parts of the anatomy of the Elizabethan aristocracy, anatomized or otherwise, were formed during the twilight years of the 'new monarchy'. (See in this connection: L. Stone, 'The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy', *Economic History Rev.* XVIII, 1948; F. Caspari, *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England* [Chicago, 1954]; J. H. Hexter, 'The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance', *Jour. of Modern History* XXII, 1950; P. N. Siegel, 'English Humanism and the New Tudor Aristocracy', *Jour. of the History of Ideas* XIII, 1952.) The complete story of the gentry and titled nobility in the sixteenth century has yet to be written; however, a number of suggestive starts have been made, such as H. J. Habakkuk, 'The Market for Monastic Property, 1539–1603', *Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, X (1958), which questions whether the 'new men' actually got the new land; T. B. Pugh and C. D. Ross, 'Materials for the Study of Baronial Incomes in Fifteenth-Century England', *Economic History Rev.*, 2d Series, VI (1953); and two studies by Helen Miller, 'Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research* XXVIII (1955), and *The Early Tudor Peerage, 1485–1547*, London University thesis, a summary of which is given in the *Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research* XXIV (1951).

VI

The historian of early Tudor England has constantly operated under a twofold disadvantage which his colleagues in Elizabethan history have escaped. Statistically speaking, the great divide in Tudor history is the

[37] J. H. Hexter, *Encounter* XI (1958).

year 1538, when Thomas Cromwell ordered all parishes to keep vital statistics as an act of state (in actual fact most parish records and other biographical data such as visitation figures do not really become complete until the latter half of the century). Consequently, the study of the House of Commons in terms of its members and research into any individual or group not sufficiently distinguished to have been included in the *DNB* become extremely difficult for the pre-Elizabethan period. Moreover, most early Tudor scholarship is grounded upon the quagmire of the fifteenth century, which of all eras is the least understood or studied. The Tudor historian is suddenly brought up short by the year 1485 which, if it has lost most of its meaning as a date of historical significance, still represents in Tudor historiography a curtain through which we see only dimly. In many ways, we have gone just about as far as it is possible to go in the study of the 'new monarchy', the 'new gentry', and the 'new parliament', without vastly more investigation into the Lancastrian-Yorkist crown, aristocracy, social order, and parliamentary system.

Not only is such research perplexing, but there still remains much to be accomplished. For an age that abounds in the clash and vitality of personality, it is somewhat surprising that a number of the major luminaries either have no biography or a highly inferior one. The Howards, father and son, William Paget,[38] the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, and Thomas Cromwell[39] all deserve biographies of major proportions. Besides the laymen, there are the ecclesiastics who still lack adequate narratives of their careers. Certainly Bonner, Heath, Morton, Thirlby, and Richard Fox warrant full-scale accounts.

The area, however, that remains most obscure is that of the little Tudors. Here is a decade in which the scholar can perceive the Henrician system of government operating under unique conditions—when it came close to collapsing entirely—and those who would learn more of the artistry of Henry VIII and Elizabeth might do well to turn to those dreary years which, though plagued by economic, social, and religious misfortune, deserve a better epithet than 'sterile'.

Some headway has, in fact, been made. The older image of a neu-

[38] An exception is S. R. Gammon, *Master of Practises; a Life of William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1506–63* (doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 1953).

[39] Elton has, in fact, made a start; see besides his other works already mentioned in this essay, 'Thomas Cromwell', *History Today* VI (1956), and 'Thomas Cromwell's Decline and Fall', *Cambridge Hist. Jour.* X (1951).

rotic, bigoted, and bloody Mary has been softened by H. F. M. Prescott, *A Spanish Tudor* (London, 1940); E. H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton, 1940); P. Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (London, 1950–1954);[40] S. R. Gammon, 'Mary Tudor's Tragedy of Conscience', *Emory University Quarterly* IX (1953); and W. Schenk, *Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England* (London, 1950). A reversion to the less charitable picture of Mary and evidence that the issue is anything but dead can be found in M. Barrington, 'Queen Mary', *Notes and Queries* CXCV (1950), pp. 4, 173.

Edward's reign remains equally barren, and, except for H. W. Chapman's *The Last Tudor King* (London, 1958), no full-length work has appeared during the last twenty years dealing specifically with the problems of the reign. A splendid and pioneering work on the Court of Augmentations which is shortly to be published by W. C. Richardson will be the authoritative study of the subject and will also go far in helping us trace the collapse of political and governmental morality under Edward VI. Ket's Rebellion has received useful but brief attention by S. T. Bindoff;[41] the commonwealth men are the subject of an article by A. B. Ferguson;[42] F. G. Emmison has done work on the Edwardian council;[43] and three new documents have recently thrown light upon the nefarious operations of Northumberland and his ingenious efforts to seize and retain power under Edward and Lady Jane Grey.[44]

The problems still remaining in early Tudor historiography are legion. New techniques, new questions, and new facts are only beginning to open up a renaissance of Tudor studies. The horizons are still unmapped and the full impact of much of the research being done in the decades immediately adjacent to the early Tudor era has not yet been felt. Not only is our ignorance massive, but the magnitude of that ignorance is constantly increasing as the old answers no longer suffice in the face of new questions. Even the broad outlines of Tudor govern-

[40] See especially his criticism of Pollard's conclusions about Mary's responsibility for the Smithfield fires, pt. III, ch. II.

[41] *Ket's Rebellion* (London, 1949, Historical Asso. Pub. G12).

[42] 'Renaissance Realism in the "Commonwealth" Literature of Early Tudor England', *Jour. of the History of Ideas* XVI (1955).

[43] F. G. Emmison, 'A Plan of Edward VI and Secretary Petre for Reorganizing the Privy Council's Work, 1552–1553', *Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. Research* XXXI (1958).

[44] S. T. Bindoff, 'A Kingdom at Stake, 1553', *History Today* III (1953); D. Hayes, 'The "Narratio Historica" of P. Vincentius, 1553', *English Hist. Rev.* LXIII (1948); A. J. A. Malkiewicz, 'Eye-witness's Account of the Coup d'Etat of October, 1549', *English Hist. Rev.* LXX (1955).

ment are uncertain and shadowy; queries involving the chain of command, initiative, patronage, factionalism, economic and political influence both at court and in the shires, bribery and corruption, and government influence over local administration[45] and electoral procedure are only just beginning to be raised.

Probably no area of research is in greater need of investigation than the Reformation Parliament. All the balanced and tidy answers of the nineteenth century have been swept aside, and today we are again faced with such trying problems as who controlled the commons; was it a rubber stamp; did Henry or Cromwell or some one else conceive of and engineer the break with Rome; was Parliament a medieval high court or can we say that by 1536 it had evolved into something discernibly different from the past; what was the social composition of the lower house; who controlled it and how; what was the rôle and influence of the lords; and finally what were the precise function and organization of such administrative organs as the Council of the West, the Court of First Fruits and Tenths, and the Exchequer? On every front the questions cry out for answer, but the responses stubbornly elude us. What was the truth about enclosure; how important was it either in myth or in fact; what was the extent and effect of the price rise; who actually got the monastic lands both in an immediate and ultimate sense; how new was the 'new gentry' and how old was the feudal nobility?

Possibly the only conclusion that can honestly be maintained is that the last twenty years has set aside the standard interpretation of Tudor England. The process of reconstruction is only just commencing, and it will probably be another generation before we again establish an 'orthodox' synthesis of early Tudor England.

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[45] A highly suggestive start has been made by W. T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540–1640* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). However, the bulk of this work lies outside of the scope of this essay. See also W. G. Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Series, VI (1956).

An Aspect of the Renaissance in Gavin Douglas' *Eneados*

INTEREST in Gavin Douglas has bloomed, attending the reappraisal of that group of poets designated as the Scottish Chaucerians. Admirers of Douglas, Henryson, Barbour, Dunbar, and the rest now have as their ally C. S. Lewis and the authority of his *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century*. In this work, Lewis devotes ten pages to a detailed examination of Douglas' translation of the *Aeneid*, and he is propitious in his final evaluation of it: 'Here a great story is greatly told and set off with original embellishments which are all to the good—all either delightful or interesting—in their diverse ways.'[1] Yet to Lewis, Douglas is primarily of the middle ages, and the faults of his translation arise out of a 'general medievalization to which he subjects the *Aeneid*. . . . In other words, Douglas pays for his freedom from the specific blindness of the *renascentia* by a specifically medieval blindness of his own.'[2] In talking about Douglas' attitude in the critical prologues which precede each book of the translation, Lewis says, 'Much of it is simply a good statement of the ordinary medieval opinion of Virgil.'[3] If Douglas' attitude toward the *Aeneid* was the ordinary medieval one, why is his *Eneados* a translation while Caxton's *Eneydos*, Chaucer's 'Legend of Dido', the *Roman d'Eneas*, and other medieval works are no more than free adaptations? When we compare Douglas with those who went before him, we discover that with him the attitude toward Vergil has undergone a change; and this change can give an important insight into what separates the sixteenth century from the middle ages.

Bruce Dearing in a recent article, 'Gavin Douglas' *Eneados:* A Reinterpretation',[4] suggests one reason for this change based on his view of Douglas' attitude toward the adaptations. Professor Dearing says, 'As a

[1] (Oxford, 1954), p. 90.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[4] *PMLA* LXVII (1952), 845–862.

churchman and a classicist, Douglas may have had little taste for romances in any circumstances; certainly he has reason to bridle at the spectacle of an adapted chivalric romance masquerading as Vergil.'[5] Dearing finds the results of Douglas' new attitude in the emphasis Douglas put on his divergence from the text of the *Aeneid*. 'Douglas' Vergil . . . is essentially the Vergil of the Renaissance, recognized as the court poet of Augustan Rome, and as an instructor alike of first- and sixteenth-century princes and noble men.'[6] And thus, according to Professor Dearing, Douglas' Aeneas is a 'prototype of the ideal prince who is to occupy so much of the attention of the poets of the English Renaissance', and the focus of Douglas' attention is upon this ideal prince 'and the virtues to be imitated, using by way of contrast the vices to be eschewed'.[7]

There is no question that Aeneas became in the Renaissance the type of the ideal prince and the *Aeneid* a guide book for princes. This interpretation of the *Aeneid*, however, did not originate with Gavin Douglas, for it can be traced back through Caxton to John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. Caxton translates the prologue of his French original as saying:

> . . . this present booke, compyled by virgyle, ryght subtyl and Ingenyous oratour & poete | Intytuled Eneydos hath be translated oute of latyn in-to comyn langage | In whiche may alle valyaunt prynces and other nobles see many valorous fayttes of armes. And also this present boke is necessarye to alle cytezens & habytaunts in townes and castellis | for they shall see, How somtyme troye the graunte | and many other places stronge and inexpugnable, haue ben be-sieged sharpely & assayled, And also coragyously and valyauntly defended | and the sayd boke is atte this present tyme moche necessarye | for to enstructe smale and grete, for euerych in his ryght | to kepe & defende | For a thynge more noble is to dye | than vylanously to be subdued.[8]

Douglas' interpretation of Aeneas as a prince to be emulated was therefore essentially that of Caxton in spite of his disagreements with Caxton on other points.

This interpretation of the *Aeneid* was anticipated by John of Salisbury who, in the twelfth century, cited the *Aeneid* in the *Policraticus*. John analyzed the incidents of the *Aeneid* so that, for example, the conduct of Dido in the poem becomes applicable to the situation of government.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 851.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 862.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 854–855.
[8] *Caxton's Eneydos*, ed. M. T. Culley and F. J. Furnivall (London, 1890, EETS ES 57), p. 10.

Dido, originally a prudent ruler, is captivated by the seductive flattery of Aeneas. John demonstrates the imprudence to which she then yields: 'Verumtamen nullius reipublicae et diutina felicitas, nisi universitati prospiciat caput incolume. Quod si non noveras, vel Didonis docearis exemplo. Quanta enim levitate Æneas admittitur, quantam cito invenit gratiam homo ignotus, exsul, fugitivus, cujus causa ignota est, persona suspecta? . . . Leviter admissus est, qui, quamvis ex pietatis officio ut hospes non fuerat excludendus, opportunius tamen fuerat eum ut advenam, non quasi judicem introire.'[9] If the interpretation of the *Aeneid* as a guide book for princes is an aspect of the Renaissance, we must extend the Renaissance to include the twelfth century.

Douglas' innovation was not to conceive of Aeneas as a model for princes, but to give the story of Aeneas without splitting it, in the medieval manner, into *littera* and *sententia*. To understand this medieval technique we must recall that the interpretation of Vergil during the entire middle ages was influenced by Neoplatonism and by this school's explanation of the sensible world as an image of an ideal but intelligible reality. Our senses comprehend the external, visible, and sensible world; our mind pierces through to the ideal, intelligible world. This dual apprehension of outer and inner reality was applied in varying degrees to the great works of literature.[10] Whether applied to nature, the Greek epics, Holy Scripture, or the *Aeneid*, this technique was essentially the same. It was primarily a technique of division. Hugo of St. Victor (1097–1141) in a well-known passage from his *Didascalicon* describes the general practice as it was applied to literature: 'Modus legendi in dividendo constat. Omnis divisio incipit a finitis, et ad infinita usque progreditur.'[11] This division, for the purpose of literary exposition, was threefold. According to Hugo, 'Expositio tria continet: litteram, sensum, sententiam. Littera est congrua ordinatio dictionum, quam etiam constructionem vocamus. Sensus est facilis quædam et aperta significatio, quam littera prima fronte præfert. Sententia est profundior intelligentia, quæ nisi expositione vel interpretatione non invenitur. In his

[9] J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXCIX, 621–622.

[10] See Etienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1955), pp. 93–94; R. Klibanski, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages* (London, 1939); H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), chap. xxix; Richard McKeon, 'Poetry and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century' in *Critics and Criticism*, ed. R. S. Crane (Chicago, 1952), pp. 297–318.

[11] *P.L.*, CLXXVI, 772.

ordo est, ut primum littera, deinde sensus, deinde sententia inquiratur: quo facto, perfecta est expositio.'[12]

Bernard Silvestris (fl. *c.* 1150) employs a three-part exposition of the *Aeneid* similiar to the technique that Hugo suggested. Bernard spoke of the *littera* of the *Aeneid* as an *enarratio* or *figmentum poeticum;* this is a *cortex falsus* which must be removed to reveal the *nucleus veritatis* beneath.[13] He thought of Vergil as teaching a *gemina doctrina* 'qui et veritatem philosophiae docuit et figmentum poeticum non praetermisit'.[14] Bernard does not deal with the first level, the *littera*. This was the business of the schools in the curricula of grammar and rhetoric. He expounds the philosophical teaching on the levels of *sensus* and *sententia*. On the level of the *sensus* the actions of the *Aeneid* are *exempla* from which the reader may profit. When Bernard analyzed the *sententia*, he says of Vergil, 'Nunc vero haec eadem circa philosophicam veritatem videamus. Scribit enim in quantam est philosophus humanae vitae naturam.'[15] To accomplish this end not only do the characters of the epic become manifestations of ultimate truth, but so do the forms and forces of nature, as for example the storm and cave of book IV and the Sybil's cave in book VI. Book VI is an allegory of the whole relationship of poetry to eloquence and of eloquence to wisdom. We have already seen how John of Salisbury interpreted the *Aeneid* for the *Policraticus*. While his emphasis was on the level of the *sensus*, he did outline the conventional *sententia*.[16]

The technique of allegorical analysis emerges again most prominently in the works of Boccaccio. The emphasis of his study of the *Aeneid* in the *De genealogia deorum* is historical, and he continues the tradition that Vergil manipulated historical sources for the purposes of a *sensus* and a *sententia* required by the nationalistic aim of the *Aeneid*. In the fourth book this historical source was the epitome of the *Historiae Philippicae* by Justinus, a story which Boccaccio repeated in his *De claris mulieribus*.

The division employed in this allegorical analysis, plus school training

[12] *P.L.*, CLXXVI, 771–772.

[13] The technique was employed in the composition of certain types of medieval poetry. Richard H. Green has described this method as it was employed by Alanus de Insulis for the *De planctu naturae* (*Speculum* XXXI, 1956, 649–674). See also D. W. Robertson, 'Some Medieval Literary Terminology, with Special References to Chrétien de Troyes', *SP* XLVIII (1951), 669–692.

[14] *Commentum super sex libros Eneidos*, ed. William Riedel (Greifswald, 1924), p. 1.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

[16] *P.L.*, CXCIX, 817.

which encouraged a free treatment of the Latin stories for the purposes of rhetoric, had for the middle ages divorced the functions of *dulcis* and *utilis*. This divorce, in turn, allowed the free handling of the stories of the *Aeneid* whenever they were repeated, from the anonymous *Excidium Troiae*, through Simon Aurea Capra's *Ilias Latina*, the *Roman d'Eneas* to Jean DeMeun, Chaucer, Gower, Caxton, and innumerable others. No critical voice was raised against this freedom of adaptation until that of Gavin Douglas. He assailed the adaptations of Caxton and Chaucer, which, he asserted, are simply not Vergil. Starting with Caxton:

> Adherand to my protestatioun,
> Thocht Williame Caxtoun, of Inglis natioun,
> In pross hes prent ane buik of Inglis gros,
> Clepand it Virgill in Eneados,
> Quhilk that he sais of Frensch he did translait,
> It hes na thing ado therwith, God wait,
> Nor na mair like than the devill and Sanct Austyne;
> Haue ha na thank therfor, bot lost his pyne,
> So schamfully that storye did pervert;
> I red his werk with harmes at my hert,
> That sic ane buik, but sentence or engyne,
> Suld be intitillit efter the poet divyne.[17]

Douglas then outlines the divergences of Caxton's *Eneydos* from the *Aeneid*, calling attention to such changes as the use of chronological order instead of Vergil's use of *in medias res*, and Caxton's omission of book VI. These two changes were conventional in the middle ages. Every redaction used chronological order; while the *Roman d'Eneas* adapts book VI for an *aventure*, the *Excidium Troiae* omits it, except for the prophecies of Roman kings, and the *Ilias Latina* reduces it to sixty lines, a third of which are taken up by the visit with Dido. In addition Douglas is adamant against Caxton's inclusion of the 'true' story of Dido from Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*.

While a great deal more respectful in his criticism of Chaucer, Douglas does criticize his master, and the basis of this criticism is his understanding of Chaucer's phrase 'folwe thy lanterne'. Chaucer at the beginning of the 'Legend of Dido' had said:

[17] *Poetical Works*, ed. John Small (Edinburgh, 1874), II, 7–8. All citations of Douglas in this paper are from this edition by volume and page. Small's line numbers are very inaccurate.

Glorye and honour, Virgil Mantoan,
Be to thy name! and I shal, as I can,
Folwe thy lanterne, as thow gost byforn,
How Eneas to Dido was forsworn.[18]

Like some modern critics, Douglas (II.14) seems to understand the phrase as meaning word for word:

Thocht venerable Chaucer, principall poet but peir, . . .
In his legeand of notable ladyis, said
That he culd follow word by word Virgill,
Wisare than I mycht faill in lakar stile.

Douglas then shows the difficulties that arose in trying to follow Vergil word for word, especially in rendering such terms as *oppetere*, *animal*, *homo*, and others. Then he adds (II.16):

My master Chaucer greitlie Virgile offendit.
All thocht I be to bald hyme to repreif,
He was far baldar, certes, by his leif,
Saying he followit Virgillis lantern to forne,
Quhen Eneas to Dido was forsworne.
Was he forsworne? . . .
Certes, Virgill schawis Enee did na thing,
Frome Dido of Cartaige at his departing,
Bot quhilk the goddes commandit him to forne.

In other words, to understand the story of Dido and Aeneas, it must be read as Vergil wrote it.

Douglas, indeed, like philosophers before him, interpreted Vergil's poetic technique as enclosing a *nucleus* of meaning within a *figmentum poeticum*. In discussing book VI of the *Aeneid*, Douglas says (II.9):

Virgill therin a hie philosophour him shew,
And, wnder the cluddes of dirk poetry
Hid lyis thair mony notable history.
For so the poetis be ther crafty curis,
In similitudis, and vnder quent figuris,
The suthfast mater to hyde and to constrene.

And Douglas is traditional, too, when he interprets the *Aeneid* as teaching the *gemina doctrina*, which he calls 'engin' and 'sentence' (II.221).

[18] *Complete Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1957), p. 500.

> The hie wisdome and maist profound ingyne
> Of myne author Virgil, poet divyne,
> To comprehend, makis me almaist forvay [go astray] . . .
>
> Lyke as he had of every thing a feill [knowledge],
> And the willis of every wycht did seill [represent];
> And therto eik sa wislie writis he
> Twiching the proffet of the commond weill,
> His sawis bene full of sentence every deill,
> Of morale doctryne, that men sulk vicis fle.

But Douglas is not traditional in his insistence that he must stay as closely as possible to what Vergil wrote. He admits that the task he set himself in his translation—to portray both aspects of Vergil—presented difficulties (II.12):

> Traist wele, to follow ane fixt sentence or mater,
> Is mair practik, difficill, and mair strater,
> Thocht thine engyne be eleuait and hie,
> Than for to write all ways at libertie.
> Gif I had nocht bene to ane boundis constrenit,
> Of my bad wit perchance I culk haue fenit
> In ryme ane ragmen [Ital. *ragionamento*] twise als curious,
> But nocht be twenty part sa sentencious.

When Douglas had a choice between the rhetoric and the 'sentence', Douglas tried to render the 'sentence' (IV.227):

> And quha sa lykis may taisting of the tun
> Onforlatyt, new from the berry run,
> Reid Virgill baldly, but mekill offens
> Except our wulgar toungis differens,
> Kepand na facund rethorik castis fair,
> Bot haymly plane termes famyliar,
> Na thyng alterit in substance the sentence,
> Thocht scant perfyte observit bene eloquens.

Because he did not think of the *littera* and the *sententia* as separate functions of the *Aeneid*, Douglas' understanding of the *sententia* has undergone a change from the understanding of the allegorists. Douglas has not divided *sensus* from *sententia*. He uses the actions of the *Aeneid* as *exempla* to illustrate the meaning of certain Christian vices and virtues. In discussing these vices and virtues Douglas seems also to stand on the threshold of the Renaissance. The fourth book, as was traditional,

illustrates the meaning of *caritas* and *luxuria*. Douglas, however, did not transform Dido into a symbol of *luxuria*, as his predecessors did, but used the occasion of Dido's love affair and death to discuss the meaning of *caritas*. He says (II.168):

> Thar bene twa luffis, perfyte and imperfyte,
> That ane lefull, the tother foull delite . . . .
>
> Than is thi luiff inordinat, say I,
> Quhen ony creatur mair than God thow luffis;
> Or 3it luffis ony to that fyne, quharby
> Thi self or thaim thow frawart God removis.

For his discussion of book VI Douglas works a little further away from his allegorical precursors and is satisfied to demonstrate the parallels that exist between the underworld of the *Aeneid* and that of the accepted Christian Heaven and hell (III.2):

> And now, into the saxt, we haif on hand,
> Eftir thair deid in quhat plite saulis sall stand.
> He writis like a philosophour naturall;
> Twichand our faith mony clausis he fand,
> Quhilk bene conforme, or than collaterall.
>
> Schawis he nocht heir the synnis capitall?
> Schawis he nocht wickit folk in endles pane?
> And purgatorie for synnis veniale,
> And virtuus peple into the plesand plane?

The prologue to book XI is a discussion of the nature of fortitude and grace, and in his discussion of fortitude, Douglas shows himself more typically of the sixteenth century than of the middle ages. Douglas' statement is not that of typical Christian fortitude, such as one we find, for example in Rhabanus Maurus, *Tractatus de anima*: 'Fortitudo igitur est longanimitas et perseverantia in bonis, tolerantiaque et victoria contra omnia tentamenta vitiorum.'[19] Or that of Alanus de Insulis in his *Summa de arte praedicatoria:* 'Fortitudo vero justi est quæ finem constituit Deum, debitum non omittit officium. Hæc fortitudo est quæ mortem contemnit, quæ domum paupertati spirituali aperit, voluptates sub freno rationis jacere cogit.'[20] Douglas sees it, like the Aristotelian *arete*, as a mean which avoids the extremes of cowardice and foolhardiness (IV.2–3):

[19] *P.L.*, CX, 1116.
[20] *P.L.*, CCX, 160.

Strang fortitud, quhilk hardyment cleip we,
Abuf the quhilk the virteu souerane
According princis, hecht magnanymite,
Is a bonte set betwix vicis tuane:
Of quham fuyl hardynes clepit is the tane,
That vndertakis all perrillis but avice;
The tother is namyt schamefull cowardice,
Voyd of curage, and dolf as ony stane. . . .

Quhou may curage and cowardice agre?
Of fortitud to compt 3ow euery gre,
As Aristotill in his Ethikis doith express.

This Christian-Aristotelian synthesis is not original with Gavin Douglas, of course. As it applies to *fortitudo* we can find it in St. Thomas Aquinas,[21] but the synthesis is an attitude we associate especially with the Renaissance and in this connection is another aspect of Douglas' looking forward.

Douglas translating the *Aeneid* accomplished something that we have to call modern, because it established an idea that has lasted until today. This idea, the idea of translation, is so fundamental to our understanding of the epic that only by looking backward can we realize that a time existed when that idea was not important. The middle ages, to understand the *Aeneid*, developed the technique which Hugo of St. Victor expressed as 'modus legendi in dividendo constat', and which gave the understanding a particular characteristic, the separation of *dulcis* and *utilis*. As long as these functions remained separate we could have the allegorical analyses on one level, the level of reason, and the various adaptations on the other, the level of the senses. For the middle ages the value of the *Aeneid* lay partially in the variety with which an author could utilize its story. Gavin Douglas turned his back on the technique of division and thought of the *Aeneid* as a single, individual work in which Vergil 'miscuit utile dulci'. As a result of this unified understanding, Douglas not only translated as accurately as he could, but he also simplified his interpretation. Instead of changing the text to suit the ideas of his own times, he took his times back to the text. Before him were the adaptations, and after him the translations.

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[21] *Summa theologiae*, IIa, IIae, Q. 123, A. 3.

Thomas More's Use of the Dialogue Form as a Weapon of Religious Controversy

N 7 March 1528, Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, sent a letter to Thomas More asking him to write against heresy. Tunstall pointed out that heretical literature of both German and English authorship was coming into England in such quantities that, unless good and learned men could be found to confute these heretical books in English, the Catholic faith in England would be in grave danger. He was entrusting More with this task, the bishop concluded, because More was a master of eloquence in English as well as in Latin.[1]

When More decided to carry out Tunstall's commission in dialogue form, he was not satisfying the predilections for the dramatic he had already evinced in his *Richard the Thirde* and *Utopia* but was availing himself of a weapon proven potent in the art of religious and secular controversy.

For many centuries Catholic apologists used the dialogue form to defend the church against the attacks of heretics. Augustine, for example, wrote dialogues to combat the views of the skeptics, the Donatists, and the Manichaeans. Augustine himself appears as a speaker in these dialogues, which are written as reports of authentic conversations. In the dialogue *Contra academicos*[2] the opposing side is represented not by the actual opponents themselves, but by some of Augustine's pupils who are made to argue against the Catholic faith, while other pupils defend the orthodox views. Most of the time Augustine himself appears as a judge of his pupils' skill in debate, but occasionally he enters the argument on the Catholic side when some particularly difficult point is in dispute. The figure of Augustine in this dialogue, therefore, is not only that of a defender of Catholicism, but also that of a teacher who is in-

[1] In *The Correspondence of Thomas More*, ed. Elizabeth F. Rogers (Princeton, 1947), pp. 387–388.

[2] *Opera omnia*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1841), I (*Patrologia Latina* XXXII).

structing his pupils in the art of debate while confirming them in the tenets of the Catholic faith.

While the dialogue form was used by a number of religious controversialists during the middle ages,[3] it was not until the Reformation that the form became a popular medium of controversy.

Between the publication of Luther's theses in 1517 and More's commission in 1528, there appeared a large number of religious controversial dialogues, of which the majority were written in Germany by the reformers. The most notable Protestant controversialist in Germany was Ulrich von Hutten. Hutten's dialogues, in common with most controversial dialogues written by either side during the early stages of the Reformation, do not attempt a reasoned exposition of doctrine. The theology of his opponents is satirized and parodied rather than rebutted, and Hutten's emphasis is on what he considers to be the political and social evils of Catholicism rather than on its doctrinal errors.

His main technique is ridicule of the opposition. He often effects this by having the Catholic spokesmen in his dialogues make absurd claims for the power of the church, or by arranging their arguments in such a manner that they condemn themselves by their own words. For instance, in *Inspicientes*,[4] the papal legate Cajetan asserts that he has power to loose and bind the sun, which he commands to beg absolution from him for not shining in the correct manner. The sun is told that as a penance it will have to pay a sum of money to help rebuild St. Peter's. Then Cajetan asks the sun to bring a plague on Germany, so that newly elected cardinals like himself will receive the incomes of the livings left vacant by the deceased incumbents.

Another outstanding writer of Protestant dialogues was the Swiss Niklaus Manuel. In his *Krankheit der Messe*[5] a number of well-wishers—representing various Catholic theologians under disguised names—gather around the sickbed of the ailing mass. Upon examining the patient's medical history, the physicians find that the mass has always been sickly, even from its birth. After it has been determined under which astrological sign the mass was born, various cures are suggested. One of the most interesting is proffered by a physician who remembers the medieval legend that every lion is stillborn and is brought to life only

[3] For instance, by Wycliffe.

[4] In *Werke*, ed. Ernst Münch (Leipzig, 1822), I.

[5] *Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz*, ed. J. Baechtold (Frauenfeld, 1878), II.

through the roaring of his father. Now, reasons the physician, since the mass was born of the Roman see, we shall be able to bring it back to life if we stand over it and roar loudly about the authority of the fathers and the councils, after the manner of the Roman church.

The device of having the opposing side make self-condemnatory statements is again used by Manuel in his *Barbali*.[6] The young girl Barbali is supposed to enter a convent. Consequently, when her priest hears that she has been reading the New Testament, he is very angry, for, as he says, she will never wish to enter the convent now, after reading that book. The priest, however, tries to persuade Barbali by telling her what a hard time she would have in the world as compared to living in the convent, where she would never have to work at all. As authorities for his arguments the priest cites Ovid and Aristotle, only to be rebutted every time by Barbali's quotations from the scriptures. When the priest calls in five other clerics to argue with Barbali, they too are put to rout by this one unlearned girl.

Manuel's *Krankheit* probably inspired the only English Reformation dialogue before More's, William Roy and Jerome Barlowe's *Rede me and be not wrothe*.[7] In this work two servants of the clergy discuss the death of the mass and their masters' morals. One asks leading questions such as 'But aren't the clergy good livers?' which allow the other to expound the vices of the clergy.

One of the most famous of the dialogues in which the central character is condemned by his own words is the *Julius exclusus*, attributed to Erasmus.[8] The dialogue, which was written upon the death of Pope Julius II, in 1513, shows the deceased pope arriving at the gates of heaven and imperiously demanding entrance from Peter. Peter, however, who is ignorant of the respect due a pope, is not interested in hearing about Julius' greatness but cites a list of Christ's commandments and asks the waiting Julius whether or not he has observed these. The answer being in the negative in every case, Julius is denied admission to heaven.

Defending the Catholic viewpoint, the most outstanding controversial dialogue is Murner's *Von dem Grossen Lutherischen Narren*.[9] Just as Hutten and Manuel attacked the Catholics by having them condemn

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Ed. Edward Arber (London, 1871, English Reprints, No. 28).

[8] In Hutten, *Werke*, II. For a discussion of the authorship of this work, see Wallace Ferguson, *Erasmi opuscula, a supplement to the Opera omnia* (The Hague, 1933), p. 38 ff., and P. S. Allen's edition of Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (Oxford, 1906–1947), II, 419.

[9] *Satirische Feldzüge wider die Reformation*, ed. Arnold E. Berger (Leipzig, 1933), I.

themselves, so Murner makes Luther hand down his own indictment in this dialogue. On being asked what the articles of Lutheranism are, Luther replies that the articles of his faith declare that a Lutheran need obey no one, neither emperor nor pope, and that Christian liberty permits a Lutheran to despise all authority. Lutherans hold that marriage should be completely abolished. In his sermons, a good Lutheran will stress the monks' voluptuousness, being careful to avoid all mention of their deeds of charity. He will gloss over lies, but at the same time praise the truth; however, even when a Lutheran lies, it is the truth. Lutherans do not believe in peace, but love to wash their hands in blood and wade in it up to their knees. Luther is made to conclude this summary of his creed by saying that once they have taken away the goods of the bishops, his followers aim to expropriate the merchants—in short, to overturn the established order and to make everything Lutheran.

Turning to the uses of the dialogue form in secular controversy, we find that this form was used by some fifteenth-century Italian humanists to vilify their enemies. In one of his diatribes against Cosmo de' Medici, Filelfo manipulates his opponent to make ridiculous and easily controvertible statements.[10] Filelfo also creates a character for himself and for Cosmo: by what he is made to reveal about himself in the dialogue, Cosmo appears as a complete libertine who does not scruple to practise the most shameful vices. Filelfo, on the other hand, draws a picture of himself as a teacher of morality who is shocked by the excesses committed by his interlocutor. Throughout the dialogue, Filelfo attempts to instill virtue into the profligate Medici and to restore him to an honorable mode of life.

The same humanist wrote another dialogue in which he presents all his enemies as speakers and then has them defame each other: Poggio admits that he drinks too much, but confesses that in this art he has to yield the palm to Niccoli. The same speaker, when pressed to tell what an ox looks like, can think of nothing which fits this description better than the person of Cosmo de' Medici. When he is challenged on this statement by his incredulous audience, Poggio proceeds to defend his comparison by going into detail. He demonstrates that Cosmo's legs, hands, face, body, and manner of walking are similar to those of an ox, and at last Poggio's listeners have to agree that the comparison is just.[11]

[10] In Charles Nisard, *Les Gladiateurs de la république des lettres* (Paris, 1860), I, 31–33.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 94–95.

Hutten also used the dialogue in secular controversy. In *Phalarismus*[12] he vented his anger at Duke Ulrich of Württemburg, who had murdered Hutten's cousin Hans, again by the device of having the main character condemn himself. A dialogue takes place in the underworld between a figure called the Tyrant (the duke) and his teacher Phalaris. The Tyrant tells his teacher how he has profited from his instruction and has murdered his friend Hans Hutten. He relates how he has escaped vengeance for this murder by perfidiously signing a treaty by which he did not mean to abide. Having made all preparations for war, he wants to find out from his teacher some suitable tortures to inflict on the enemy, should the victory be his.

We can conclude, therefore, that, at the time of More's commission to combat heresy, the dialogue form was already a popular medium of controversy. While there is no evidence that More knew German and was acquainted with the many dialogues written in that language, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in preparing himself to defend the doctrines of the church he read the Latin dialogues of reformers such as Hutten. More seems to have been familiar with the works of Filelfo,[13] and we know that he had read the *Julius exclusus*, for he makes reference to the dialogue in his letters.[14] As for Augustine's dialogues, since More frequently cites passages from the works Augustine wrote against the Manichaeans and the Donatists, it seems likely that he would also be acquainted with the dialogues Augustine wrote during the same controversies.[15]

More sometimes uses the dialogue as part of his controversial technique even in works which are not formal dialogues. He frequently breaks into a modified dialogue form by apposing his own answers to a series of quotations from his opponent, as he does in the following passage from his *Confutacion of Tyndales Aunsvvere*:

> Tyndale.
>
> And if he be comaunded to abstein fro wyne, that will he obserue vnto the deathe to, as charter house munkes had leuer die than eate flesh. . . .

[12] *Werke*, II.

[13] See *Correspondence*, p. 457, where a correspondent assumes More's familiarity with the humanist.

[14] *Opus epistolarum*, II, 502, and in various other epistles.

[15] To support the argument that the authority of the church is superior to that of the Scriptures, More frequently cites the passage from Augustine's *Contra epistolam Manichaei* in which Augustine declares that he would not have believed the gospel had he not been moved thereto by the authority of the Catholic church. See *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght*, ed. Wm. Rastell (London, 1557), pp. 204, 276, 576, hereafter cited as *Workes* (the contractions are expanded).

More.

As for the munkes of the charterhouse would god we wer no ferther from very vertuous deuocion, then those good men be from vnlawfull supersticion. . . .[16]

However, More's chief use of the dialogue form as a weapon of religious controversy occurs in the *Dialogue concernynge heresyes*,[17] in which he attacks the writings of Luther and Tyndale. A study of this work reveals the importance of the dialogue form to More's controversial technique.

The *Dialogue* presents the following situation: A friend wants to hear More's opinion concerning the claims made by the reformers, but because he is unable to come to talk with More personally, he sends a servant instead. This servant is to hear More's views and report them to his master, but, lest any of the material might be misreported, More determines to set down the entire conversation in writing. The situation in More's dialogue is therefore similar to the situation in Augustine's *Contra academicos* in that More is not arguing directly against those attacking the church but against a friend voicing their point of view.

More's narration of the circumstances which led him to write the dialogue has an air of such verisimilitude that one scholar was led to the opinion that the events recorded actually took place.[18] Such a conclusion is not mandatory, however, because More was in the habit of giving his works fictional settings.[19]

As a dialogue is ostensibly a conversation, it need not conform to a rigid pattern of subjects, but may, like a conversation, roam from one topic to another, frequently retracing its steps over material already discussed. Subjects may be raised and dropped at will, to be taken up again at some later point in the discussion, without the necessity for logically building premise upon premise to reach the conclusion.

In fact, More's dialogue is as far removed as possible from previous attempts to halt heresy by means of scholastic logic. One of these attempts had been made by Bishop John Fisher in his *Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio*.[20] This work opens with a series of nine truths, each of which is logically premised upon its predecessor. In order to prove the first of

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 105–288.

[18] James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* (London, 1908), I, 511–512.

[19] See, for instance, his *Utopia* and *Dialogue of Comfort*.

[20] Printed at Cologne, 1525.

these truths, Fisher feels obliged to trace the history of heresy from the beginning of the church to the time at which he is writing. Each of these truths is proved first by a list of scriptural, and then by a list of patristic, citations. It was because Latin writings such as Fisher's had been unsuccessful in stopping the spread of heresy among an English-speaking population that More was asked to defend the church in English.

In contrast to the scholastic method which Fisher employs in his works, More commences the *Dialogue* with a discussion of the Bilney case, a subject very much on the popular mind in 1529. Thomas Bilney was a young Cambridge scholar who, in September 1527, was forced to do public penance for entertaining and preaching heretical opinions. More discusses this case first at his interlocutor's request. As the messenger is supposed to represent the average Englishman, unsettled by the recent religious upheaval, it may be inferred that More opens his dialogue with the subject which he thinks will attract most public attention.

That More does use the Bilney case as an attention-getting device is indicated by the fact that it is soon dropped for a general consideration of the reformers' doctrines and is not taken up again and fully discussed until the third book.

On the surface, the *Dialogue* gives the impression of disorder, for More allows the messenger to wander at will from one point to another, and he himself shows no reluctance to follow his creature's leading. This method is not logical, but, as we have seen, the logical method had not met with much success in the past. It is the method, or rather the lack of method, of actual verbal argument and has the advantage of both avoiding tedium by dramatic devices and allowing its author a free hand. Thus More's use of the dialogue does not force him to exhaust a subject, once broached, but allows him to take it up, drop it, and then reinsert it wherever he thinks most effective.

More's *Dialogue* is a kind of drama, and in a play a character is judged as much by what he says and by what is said to him as by any of his actions. Besides wanting to proclaim and justify Catholic doctrine, More intends his readers to get a definite picture of the young man with whom he is disputing. It is improbable that More means his interlocutor to represent an out-and-out heretic, but he does portray him as leaning to the side of the reformers, whose cause he is, after a fashion, made to defend. If nothing else, the messenger is weak in the Catholic faith. One cannot but wonder if these disputations had as their prototype More's spiritual wrestlings with his son-in-law, William Roper, a young man

just like this one, who was finally brought back to the orthodox fold, not by More's reasoning, but by his prayer.[21]

More's picture of the young man and, by implication, of those who share his beliefs is not a flattering one. His education does not extend beyond a knowledge of some Latin—the basic course of study in the Tudor grammar school. 'As for other faculties he rought not of.'[22] Although he has some acquaintance with the text of Scripture, he finds this text hard enough to understand in itself, without bothering with the glosses to it. That is, he does not possess enough intelligence to realize that the purpose of the glosses is elucidation of the text. As for philosophy—which he has never studied, and consequently is in no position to judge—that he thinks the greatest vanity of all.[23]

He is willing to believe that there is a God only because He is mentioned in Scripture: 'But surely [says More] both nature and reason wil declare and tech vs that a god there is. Wel quod he, I wil not stick in this, sith saint Paule saithe so.'[24] More clearly shows his reaction to such an attitude and, incidentally, indicates that his unfavorable depiction of the messenger is a calculated one, when he rebukes him for putting no faith in any study but that of the Scriptures. More says that he would never advise any one to study the Scriptures in such a fashion. He claims that there are many who thus feign simplicity, but that it is really pride which causes them to reject all other learning, and that it is because their interpretations of the Scriptures are opposed by the old doctors that they dispraise these doctors and, therefore, all learning generally.[25] Thus, More uses the character of the messenger himself to depict what he thinks is wrong with the opposing side and, as in so many Renaissance dialogues, the opposition is condemned by its own words.

On the other hand, just as Filelfo did, More creates a very favorable character for himself in the *Dialogue*. It is established right at the beginning of the work that while the messenger's learning is limited to the Scriptures, More is a respected scholar whose opinion will be recognized as the final arbiter of the religious questions in dispute. More reminds his friend who has sent the messenger of the agreement arrived at: 'ye had in me and my lernynge, so speciall trust and confidence, that in any

[21] See Nicholas Harpsfield, *The Life and death of Sr. Thomas More, knight*, ed. Elsie V. Hitchcock (London, 1932), pp. 84–87.

[22] *Workes*, p. 111.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

of all these thinges, what so euer ye had herde, or shoulde hyre els where, ye were fully determined to geue full credence to me, and take for the trouthe such answere, as he [the messenger] shoulde bringe you from me. . . .'[26]

More uses other methods as well to emphasize his own learning. For instance, very often in the *Dialogue* More, using a technique reminiscent of Augustine's, is not so much arguing with his interlocutor as teaching him by the method of question and answer. This is particularly clear in the section where More shows his pupil-antagonist that, while we may regard miracles as being against reason, we daily accept without question events which are actually much more wondrous than the miracles of which he is skeptical.[27]

We are also shown that the messenger is conscious of his inferiority to More, whom he treats with great respect. Before objecting to what More has said, the messenger will usually first ask permission: 'Howbeit yf I durst doubt in that point, one thing is ther that somwhat sticketh in my mind.' And More always graciously gives his permission: 'Doubt on . . . and spare not, nor let not to tell me what moueth you.'[28]

More's graciousness to the messenger stems from the desire to portray himself not only as a scholar but also as a gentleman. Since in an argument it is the gentleman's part to be fair to his opponent, More makes certain that the readers of the *Dialogue* will have ample opportunity to observe how fair he is. After he has refuted some of the messenger's main points, More asks:

> How thynke you . . . is ther any thyng in this matter amisse? I can not well tell quod he, what I might aunswer therto. But yet methink that I come to this point by some ouersight in graunting. Well quod I, men say sometyme when they would saye or doo a thyng and cannot well come thereon, but misse and ouersee themselfe in the assaye, it maketh no matter they saye, ye may beginne agayne and mende it, for it is nother masse nor mattyns. And all be it in this matter, ye haue nothyng granted but that is in my mind as true as the mattins or the masse either, yet if ye reken your self ouer swift in graunting I geue you leue to go backe & cal againe what ye wyll.[29]

More even points out to the messenger that his case is not really so bad as it looks: 'Ye haue not yet quod I lost al that labour. For though

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 126–129.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

ye haue halfe a checke in this pointe, yet haue ye (if ye perceiue it) mated me in an other point.'[30] After some banter, More reveals the point to his opponent, who was completely unaware of it.

Not only is More very fair to his adversary, but he also treats him with great kindness, often appearing to agree with his argument. For instance, when the messenger claims that some miracles are false, More momentarily aids him by himself citing various examples of supposedly false miracles.[31] Frequently, More generously commends the messenger's skill in argument with words such as 'That is in my minde . . . wel taken', or 'Verye well said'.[32]

As becomes the scholar-gentleman, More is modest. Before answering the messenger's charge that priests encourage superstition for mercenary motives, More belittles his own competence (and, incidentally, the messenger's) to speak on the subject. He asks the messenger whether he has any intention of becoming a priest; the messenger answers in the negative. Then More explains that, since he himself has been married twice, he cannot become a priest, and adds, 'we two be not the most metely to ponder what might be said in this matter for the priestes parte.'[33]

And finally, since a gentleman should be pleasant company, More pictures himself throughout the *Dialogue* as the gracious host—although he keeps his guest engaged in conversation long past Lady More's call to dinner—one who likes to hear and tell a 'merry tale' and who extends every courtesy to the young man whom he is entertaining in his garden at Chelsea, where the scene of the *Dialogue* is set.

One of the main facilities the dialogue form offers for the exercise of controversial technique has already been noted as practised by Hutten, Manuel, Murner, and Filelfo. The writer of a dialogue is at once the author, casting agent, and director of his drama. He determines what is to be said, who is to say it, and the particular sequence in which it is to be said. The characters are his creations, his puppets; and while he may allow them to roam seemingly at will at the end of a long and almost invisible string, that string is, nevertheless, always there, and there is no question as to who is manipulating it. In a controversial dialogue, there is never any doubt about who is going to win all the arguments, for the

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

form allows its author to reserve the strongest points for himself, to make his opponent dispute more weakly than he would in actual debate, and to put opinions into his mouth which he does not really entertain.

Of all these opportunities More avails himself fully, and it must be his keenly developed sense of irony which causes him to compliment the messenger, his own creation, in these words: 'ye haue not faintly defended your part, as though it wer a corrupted aduocate, that would by collusion handle his clientes matter febly for the pleasure of his aduersary, but ye haue saide therein I can not tell whether as muche as any man may saye, but certainly I suppose as much as ye either haue hard any man say or can your self say.'[34]

For instance, in developing his argument on the nature of the church More asks his interlocutor: 'But ye grant quod I, that the church can not erre in the right faith necessary to be beleued, whiche is geuen and alway kept in the church by god. Trouth, quod he.'[35] That Tyndale's reply to this question would not have been a simple 'Trouth' can be seen from the following passage in his *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*:

> *M. More* declareth the meanyng of no sentence, hee describeth the proper signification of no word, nor the difference of the significations of any terme, but runneth foorth confusedly in vnknowen wordes and generall termes. And where one word hath many significations he maketh a man some tyme beleue that many thynges are but one thyng, and some tyme he leadeth from one signification vnto an other and mocketh a mans wittes. As he iuggleth with this terme *church*, makyng vs in the begynnyng vnderstand all that beleue, and in the conclusion the Priestes onely.[36]

By the word 'church' More means what Tyndale would call the Roman church, and More knew well enough that Tyndale would never have granted him that this church could not err.

Again, in one of the debates on the rival claims of church and Scriptures, More asks the messenger how he came to believe that Christ was born of a virgin, to which the messenger replies that he came to this belief by Scripture. More then asks if this matter were not contained in Scripture, but only in the creed, would the messenger believe the

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 145.
[36] *The Whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith and Doct. Barnes*, ed. John Daye (London, 1573), p. 330.

creed: 'The Crede quod he is a thyng by it self . . . And yet I thynke [says More], yf ghospell hadde neuer bene written, ye wold haue beleued your Crede. So thynke I too quod he.'[37] Considering the fact that the reformers were most emphatic on just this point, that only Scripture was to be taken as authority for what was to be believed, it is clear that none of them would have given the messenger's answer cited above.

On hearing from More that Tyndale's translation rendered *ecclesia* as 'congregation' and *caritas* as 'love', the messenger shows no hesitation in concluding 'that it was not wel nor wisely done, there wyl I trowe no good wyse man deny'.[38] Of this, Tyndale was not quite as confident as the messenger, who, according to More, had 'not faintly defended [his] part'.

As a matter of fact, throughout the *Dialogue* the messenger shows less and less opposition to More, until by the fourth book he has become a mere yes-man to More's rhetorical questions, 'Very true . . . by my trouthe', being his stock answer. The *Dialogue* ends with More and his opponent engaged in friendly rivalry to see who could most effectively pull apart Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christen man*.

More realizes that even good dialogue, when administered in large doses, can become tedious, and he therefore occasionally intersperses his work with straight narration. He does this very skillfully, making the narrative part an outgrowth of the dramatic situation. On one occasion More's young companion returns crestfallen from the university, where he has tried to defend the propositions to which More has forced him to assent. He has been badly put down in his attempt, and this provides More with an opportunity to tell him all the arguments he should have presented.[39]

Another variation More introduces into his dialogue is sometimes to report verbatim conversations between speakers other than himself and the messenger. On one occasion More cites the account of a trial he has attended, which contains a lengthy dialogue between the judges and a witness.[40]

More has an additional reason for relating the events of this particular trial; some aspects of it are quite amusing, and the humor resulting from their narration relieves the doctrinal discussion which takes up many pages.

[37] *Workes*, p. 174.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 203 ff.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 236–237.

Much of the humor in the *Dialogue* takes the form of the 'merry tale'. More was not certain that these tales were appropriate to a work of religious controversy, and he tells us that this was one of the reasons he submitted his manuscript to the examination of others before he published it.[41] To help ease his mind on this score, More arranges matters so that most of the tales are told by the messenger rather than by himself. In this way he manages to include their substance without incurring the responsibility of narrating them himself.

Another effect More achieves by having the messenger tell most of the 'merry tales' is to lower him in the estimation of the *Dialogue*'s readers. For in this work More manages to achieve an air of such verisimilitude that the reader is apt to forget that More is the author both of his own part and of the messenger's and to regard the statements of the latter as those of a real person. Some of the tales the messenger tells are very bawdy, and if More's reputation as a serious writer can be questioned by Tyndale because More is a poet who has 'feigned' matters in his *Utopia*,[42] these tales are not calculated to present the messenger to his Tudor audience as a morally earnest reformer, righteously indignant at the vices of a corrupt clergy. Following the technique of other controversialists, More thus adds to his unfavorable delineation of the messenger.

It seems probable, then, that More chose the dialogue as his medium to carry out Tunstall's commission not only because he found the form congenial, but also because he was familiar with its effective use by previous controversialists, especially in religious debate. While there is no definite proof that More adopted any specific technique from his predecessors, certain similarities between More's dialogue and earlier works can be traced.

For the device of using the very words and person of his opponent to ridicule his opponent's point of view, More had the example of Hutten, Manuel, Murner, and Filelfo, who made their opponents condemn themselves by their own words and actions. For his favorable self-characterization, More had the precedent set by Filelfo.

More's dialogue, however, bears the closest resemblance not to the work of any of the Renaissance controversialists but to Augustine's *Contra academicos*. The points of similarity between the two dialogues are striking: both claim to be reporting actual conversations and, conse-

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[42] *The Whole workes of W. Tyndall*, pp. 318, 330.

quently, are written as indirect rather than direct discourse. The fact that More's is a reported dialogue struck Tyndale so forcibly that he referred to it as 'Quod I, and, quod he, and quod your frende'.[43] In the dialogues of both writers the case for the opposition is argued not by the opponents themselves but by friends of the author, who appears in the double rôle of disputant with, and teacher of, his interlocutor. Finally, the works of both authors make a serious attempt to deal with the issues in dispute between the church and those who were attacking her doctrines.

The last point is worthy of note because it marks the main difference between More's dialogue and those which preceded it in the Reformation controversy. Hutten, Manuel, and Murner confined themselves to satire; they ridiculed the doctrines they were attacking without explaining in any detail why their beliefs were correct and the opposing beliefs wrong. More also used ridicule, but he did not stop there. He did not attempt a theological treatise on the scale of Bishop Fisher's; that was not his purpose. He did, however, give full consideration to the main points in dispute between the church and the reformers. By using the dialogue to discuss the issues rather than just to ridicule his opponents' beliefs, More widened the scope of the Renaissance dialogue of religious controversy.

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[43] *Ibid.*, p. 364.

Spenser's House of Care: a Reinterpretation

IN the fourth book of *The Faerie Queene*, Scudamour passes a restless night in the house of Care,

> . . . a blacksmith by his trade,
> That neither day nor night from working spared,
> But to small purpose yron wedges made:
> Those be unquiet thoughts, that carefull minds invade.

The smith is assisted by 'sixe strong groomes' who keep the visitor awake most of the evening with the din of their

> . . . huge great hammers, that did never rest
> From heaping stroakes. . . .

When the knight finally falls asleep, Care awakens him with a pair of red-hot tongs.

That this episode 'symbolizes Scudamour's jealous wretchedness'[1] is, as Lemmi observed, perfectly obvious. Indeed Spenser has made the meaning of his 'darke conceit' extremely clear. Ate, 'that stryfull hag', has filled the knight's heart 'with gealous discontent'. Her slander pierces 'his gealous hart' like thorns. After his almost sleepless night 'one mote plainely read' the 'signes of anguish' in his face and 'ghesse the man to be dismayd with gealous dread'. Further news of Britomart, whom he erroneously regards as a rival for Amoret's favor, makes him

> . . . swell in every inner part,
> For fell despight, and gnaw his gealous hart.

Nevertheless, the sources of this episode and the exact significance of some of its details have remained obscure. In Lemmi's opinion, Care and his servants owed much to Boccaccio's account of Acheron and his six children.[2] This interpretation, however, throws no light on the sym-

[1] C. W. Lemmi, 'The Symbolism of the Classical Episodes in *The Faerie Queene*', *PQ* VIII (1929), 271.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 271–272; Ray Heffner, ed , *The Faerie Queene, Book Four* (Baltimore, 1935,

bolism of the hammers and anvil or on the personification of Care as a blacksmith. A more probable explanation is that Spenser has given poetic expression to a contemporary Italian idiom which described jealousy metaphorically as 'martello' or 'martello d'amore'.

Florio's Italian-English dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes*, defines *martello* as 'a hammer, a sledge, a carpenters mallet. Also iealousie or suspition in love: panting or throbbing of the hart.'[3] *Ammartellare* means 'to hammer, to forge, to beate, to stampe, to appassionate with ielousie', and *ammartellato* denotes 'one that is passionated with love or ielousie[.] Also forged or hammered'.[4] The first edition of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* also notes this meaning of the word:

> . . . E. *Martello* lo diciamo per una certa passione amorosa, che è quando si dubita, che la cosa amata non ti sia tolta da altri. Lat. *suspicio*, disse Terenzio, onde AMMARTELLATO. Ber. Orl. Perche fu l'uno, e l'altro ammartellato, D'altro che d'amoroso struggimento.[5]

Filippo Venuti's *Dittionario volgare, & Latino*—one of the sources of Florio's book—alludes briefly to this idiom:

> Dar martello, martellare, & Appassionare alcuno] male urere aliquem. Terent.[6]

Lasca's poem 'In nome del Bernio', which appears at the beginning of a popular collection of burlesque verse, describes the phrase 'martello d'amore' as synonymous with jealousy:

> Chi Brama di fuggir maninconia,
> Fastidio, affanno, dispetto e dolore:
> Chi vuol cacciar da se la Gelosia,
> O come diciam noi, martel d'Amore:
> Legga di grazia quest' Opera mia. . . .[7]

Giovanni della Casa's 'Capitolo del martello' regards insomnia as one of the worst torments of jealousy:

> Tutte le infermita de un hospitale
> Contandogli il francioso & la moria,

Variorum Edition), pp. 196–199. Cf. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogiae deorum gentilium libri*, ed. Vincenzo Romano, 1 (Bari, 1951), 124–134.

[3] John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, Or, Most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English* (London, 1598), *s.v. Martello.*

[4] *Ibid.*, *s.v. Ammartellare, Ammartellato.*

[5] *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venezia, 1612), *s.v. Martello.*

[6] Filippo Venuti da Cortona, *Dittionario volgare, & Latino* (Bolonia, 1578), p. 539.

[7] *Il primo libro dell' opere burlesche. Di M. Francesco Berni, di M. Gio. della Casa, del Varchi, del Mauro . . .* (Firenze, 1548).

Quanto il martel d'Amor non fano male. . . .

In summa questa e una cosa pazza,
Et io per me l'ho gia piu volte detto
Che chi non ha martello in vero sguazza:
Quando altri per dormir e ito al letto,
Comincia i suoi sospiri à ritrovare,
E beccasi il cervello a bel diletto.
Non lo farebb' el sonno addormentare,
Et chi contasse al' hora i suoi pensieri
Putrebbe annoverar l'onde del mare.
Va racconciando insieme i falsi e i veri,
La ragiono col tal, la ando la stette:
Quest' e ch'io non la vidi hoggi ne hieri.

After enumerating a whole catalogue of ills, the poet concludes, 'Ma il peggior mal di tutti fu il martello'.[8]

The same idiom recurs in Firenzuola's 'In lode del legno santo':

Hor nuovamente vi dico che cava
Di fastidio un che crepi di martello
Guarda se questa è un' opera brava
Et se pazzi volessin provar quello
Et conoscessin la loro malattia
Tutti ritornerebbono in cervello
Ch' altro non e 'l martel ch' una pazzia. . . .[9]

Berni, in *Orlando innamorato*, speaks of 'La gelosia, il furore, e'l martello'[10] and describes Agrican as devoured 'di rabbia . . . E di martello, e di furia, e di stizza'.[11]

Vernacular translations of Terence employed the same term to ex-

[8] *Le terze rime di Messer Giovanni dalla Casa di Messer Bino e d'altri* (1542), in *Tutte le opere del Bernia in terza rima* (1545), 142–143. Lasca's poem 'Sopra la gelosia' (*Rime di Anton Francesco Grazzini*, II, Florence, 1742, pp. 146–151) also includes insomnia as a characteristic of jealousy:

Stà vigilante senza mai dormire
A ogni voce, a ogni cenno presta:
E per dare agli amanti piu martire,
Nel sonno ancor gli affligе e gli molesta
Con nuovo larve in foggia orrenda e nuova;
Così riposo alcun mai non si trovo.

[9] *Le rime di M. Agnolo Firenzuola Fiorentino* (Fiorenza, 1549), p. 119.

[10] Book I, v, 5.

[11] Book I, xviii, 58.

press suspicion and jealous despair. Giovanni Fabrini renders a conversation between Gnatho and Thraso in *The Eunuch* as follows:

G. Nihil minus .i. facias] non far cosa nessuna manco di questa, guardatene, per niente no lo fare [imo] anzi [auge] accrescigli [magis] piu [suspitionem] il sospetto. T. Cur? perche? G. Rogas?] dimandimi tu perche? quasi dicendo puo far che tu no lo sappia? [Scin'?] sai tu perche? [si quando] se qualche volta [illa facit mentionem] ella fa mentionem [Phaedriae] di Fedria [aut] overamente [si laudat] se ella lo loda [ut te male urat] per darti martello, per farti disperare [.][12]

Spenser's description of Scudamour's ordeal seems, then, to be a detailed elaboration of a conventional Italian metaphor.[13] Tormented by his jealous suspicion of Britomart and Amoret, the knight is an *ammartellato*, a man 'passionated with love or ielousie'. The hammers which are forging 'unquiet thoughts' or striking his own helmet represent his passionate jealousy, that 'Gelosia', or 'Pena, Affanno, Furore, cagionato da gelosia, o da altra veemente passione, specialmente amorosa', conventionally symbolized as 'Martello di gelosia, o di amore'.[14]

The poet may also have recalled the adage 'Inter malleum & incudem' ('between the hammer and the anvil'), a proverb describing the state of anxiety:

Μεταξὺ τοῦ ἄκμονας καὶ σφύρας, id est, Inter incudem & malleum. Huic non dissimile refertur ab Origene Theologo, quadam in Hieremiam homilia, his quidem verbis (nam Graeca desideramus) Iam quoddam est apud nationes tritum vulgi sermone proverbium, ut de iis qui anxietatibus & ingentibus malis premuntur, dicant, Inter malleum sunt & incudem.[15]

Pierius' *Hieroglyphica* gives a similar interpretation of 'hammer' as 'malorum irritamento':

Videtur verò Malleus pro malorum irritamento accipi: arma siquidem, pugiones, cuspides, & cultros malleus excudit, unde mala tot immortales oboriuntur. Eo etiam

[12] Giovanni Fabrini da Fighine Fiorentino, *Il Terentio Latino, comentato in lingua Toscana* (Vinegia, 1558), p. 125. Cf. *Le Comedie di Terentio volgari* (Vinegia, 1546), p. 39, 's'ella lo lodara per farti martello, sai tu?' See Terence's *Eunuchus* III. i.

[13] For additional examples of *martello* in Italian literature, see *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, quinta impressione, *s.v. Ammartellare, Ammartellato, Martello.*

[14] *Ibid., s.v. Martello.*

[15] *Adagiorum Des. Erasmi Roterodami chiliades quatuor . . . quibus adiectae sunt Henrici Stephani Animadversiones* (Parisiis, 1579), col. 27, Proverb No. 1116. See Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), H62, 'Between the HAMMER and the anvil.'

fiunt tubae ductiles, per quarum clangorem animemur in bellum. Eo franguntur opera, & quae solida sunt conteruntur. Quare nonnulli divinarum literarum interpretes Zabulum per mallei figuram intelligunt, à quo malae omnes procedunt cogitationes, pravaque consilia, & bonorum operum perturbationes.[16]

A rather striking analogue to Care and his hammers appears in Ripa's *Iconologia*, first published in Rome in 1593,[17] three years before the publication of the fourth book of *The Faerie Queene*. 'Tribulatione' is described as a dishevelled female holding three hammers and a heart; the hammers (Ripa explains) are like dark thoughts which continually harass the soul:

Donna vestita di nero, sarà scapigliata, nella destra mano terrà tre martelli, & nella sinistra un cuore.

E vestita di nero, perche porta neri, & oscuri i pensieri, i quali continuamente macerano l'anima, & il cuore, non altrimente, che fussero martelli, i quali con percosse continue, lo tormentassero.[18]

Both the concept of care and the percussion-metaphor occur, moreover, in Renaissance etymologies of *jealousy*:

Zelotypus . . . Zelator, seu aemulator formae dicitur. nam ζῆλος, aemulatio est: τύπος, forma. Qui igitur amat ut solicitus sit nequis amore suo perfruatur, zelotypus est.[19]

Gelous. . . . L. Zelosus . . . Zelotypus. Gr. ζηλότυπος, ex ζῆλος, i. aemulatio, & τύπτω, i. percutio, tundo, *strucken with emulation*; quia zelotypia *percutit & tundit hominem illum in quo habitat.*[20]

Cicero had referred metaphorically to 'his assiduis uno opere eandem

[16] *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum, aliarumque gentium literis commentarij Ioannis Pierii Valeriani* (Basileae, 1575), p. 353 ('De malleo'). An illustration entitled 'Malorum Irritamentum' depicts a man beating out two swords on an anvil with a hammer.

[17] Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London, 1948), p. 79.

[18] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia overo descrittione d'imagini delle virtù, vitij, affetti, passioni humane* (Padova, 1611), p. 521.

[19] Robertus Stephanus, *Dictionarium seu thesaurus Latinae linguae* (Venice, 1551), *s.v. Zelotypus*. Cf. *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium* (Venetiis, 1571), *s.v. Zelotypus*: '*Zelotypus*, . . suspiciosus in amore, quenque id solicitum habet, ne quis eo perfruatur, quod ipse amat: quasi dicas formae aemulatorem. Nam ζῆλος, aemulationem, & τύπος, formam significat.' The same combination of words (*zelos* and *ypos*) could also be interpreted as 'blow of jealousy', for *typos* meant not merely *form*, but also 'a blow' or 'the effect or product of a blow'. (See Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1901, *s.v.* τύπος.) The 'heaping stroakes' of Spenser's blacksmiths derive their significance, in large part, from the root meaning of *zelotypus*; they represent, allegorically, the 'blows of jealousy'.

[20] John Minsheu, *Ductor in Linguas, The Guide into Tongues* (London, 1617), *s.v. Gelous.*

incudem diemque noctemque tundentibus',[21] and Elyot had interpreted this idiom as meaning incessant repetition of the same thing:

Eandem incudem tundere, to labour alway about one thing, to repete one thing continually, to harpe alwaie upon one strynge.[22]

Spenser's exploitation of the hammer-metaphor to express the idea of jealous solicitude was, then, well grounded in Renaissance convention. The hammer[23] was a fairly common symbol for jealous anxiety and could represent either the cause of such 'malae cogitationes' or the 'pensieri oscuri' themselves.

I

Though Spenser's account of the seven blacksmiths was (as Upton observed[24]) influenced by classical descriptions of Vulcan's forge, the poet's numerical symbolism has remained obscure. Why are Care's assistants specifically *six* in number? Spenser could easily have strengthened his allusion to the Cyclopes by limiting their number to the usual three.

Lemmi pointed out that their number is identical with that of Acheron's offspring. But of Acheron's six children only one was male.[25] In Upton's opinion, Care and 'his six servants point out the seven days of the week, revolving round in perpetual labour and trouble: they have no ears to hear, . . . and rest not night nor day'.[26] Other interpretations, however, are also plausible. The seven smiths could, with equal propriety, symbolize the seven parts of the night—*vesper*, *crepusculum*, *conticinium*, *intempestum*, *gallicinium*, *matutinum*, *diluculum*.[27] Nor should

[21] *De oratore*, II, xxxix.

[22] *Bibliotheca Eliotae. Eliotes Dictionarie the second tyme enriched . . . by Thomas Cooper* (Londini, 1552), *s.v. Incus*. Cf. Stephanus, *s.v. Incus*.

[23] Interpretations of I Kings vi. 7 sometimes associated the din of hammers with the blows of adversity. Rabanus Maurus, commenting on the prohibition against hammers, axes, and other iron tools in building Solomon's temple, contrasts the peace of the Church Triumphant with the 'labores et certamina' of this life: ' "Et malleus et securis et omne ferramentum, non sunt audita in domo, cum aedificaretur." . . . Ubi malleus et securis, et omne ferramentum non auditur, quia hic tundimur adversitatibus, et disciplina veritatis exercemur.' (*Patrologia Latina* CIX, Paris, 1864, col. 144.) Cf. *Glossa ordinaria*, *P.L.* CXIII (Paris, 1852), col. 587.

[24] John Upton, ed., *Spenser's Faerie Queene*, II (London, 1768), p. 592; Variorum Spenser IV, 197.

[25] Boccaccio, pp. 129–134. Acheron's only son was Ascalaphus; his five daughters included the three furies (Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera), Victoria, and Styx.

[26] Upton, II, 592.

[27] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum libri XX*, Book V, Chapter 31, 'De nocte' (*P.L*

we overlook Strabo's declaration that the Cyclopes were 'seven in number':

> . . . διὰ Κυκλώπων, οὓς ἑπτὰ μὲν
> εἶναι, καλεῖσθαι δὲ γαστερόχειρας . . .[28]

Nevertheless neither the parts of the night nor the days of the week constitute a completely satisfactory explanation; stanzas 36 and 37 clearly point to a sequence of *six* rather than *seven* units. Spenser does not depict the master-smith as personally wielding one of the 'huge great hammers, that did never rest' and that 'Like belles in greatnesse orderly succeed'. Of the 'sixe strong groomes', moreover, he singles out only the last and mightiest for special emphasis:

> He like a monstrous Gyant seem'd in sight,
> Farre passing *Bronteus*, or *Pyracmon* great.

Could Spenser's conception of the six assistants have been influenced by the same homily from which Erasmus and Pierius[29] drew, in part, their own interpretations of the hammer-symbol? Wielders of the hammer (*malleatores*) are (Origen explains) metaphorically sons of Cain, the author of the first fratricide and the direct ancestor of Tubalcain, 'qui fuit malleator et faber in cuncta opera aeris et ferri':

> Cain generavit filios, et de Cain ortus est faber aeris et ferri. Ergo ut Zabulus qui omnium tentationum operator est, malleus dicitur, *ita qui ministrat, malleator est filius Cain*. Quotiescunque enim in tentationem incideris, scito malleum diabolem esse, et malleatorem eum per quem te Zabulus insequitur. . . . Quotquot enim in actu suo Zabulum suscipiunt et ministrant ei ad probandum justum, et injustum coarguendum, omnes malleatores sunt. Idcirco si heri malleator eras, et in manu malleum continebas,

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LXXXII, Paris, 1850, col. 218). Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, Book X, Chapter 7, 'De septem partibus noctis' (*P.L.* CXI, Paris, 1864, col. 292–293). See also Honorius Augustodunensis, *De imagine mundi*, Book II, Chapter 32, 'De septem temporibus noctis' (*P.L.* CLXXII, Paris, 1854, col. 150–151).

[28] *The Geography of Strabo* (London, 1927, Loeb Classical Library), IV, 168.

[29] Pierius, p 353, 'Sed super hoc plura legas homilia tertia in Hieremiam apud Adamantium'. See *S. Eusebii Hieronymi translatio homiliarum Origenis in Jeremiam*, 'Homilia tertia', in *P.L.* XXV (Paris, 1845), col. 606–615; 'Origenis in Jeremiam homilia XX, De eo quod scriptum est: *Quomodo confractus et contritus est malleus universae terrae*', in *P.G.* XIII (Paris, 1862), col. 525–534; cf. Jeremiah L, 23. For the source of Erasmus' proverb and Pierius' hammer symbolism, see *P.G.* XIII, col. 526: 'Jam quoddam est et apud nationes tritum vulgi sermone proverbium, ut de his qui anxietatibus et ingentibus malis premuntur, dicant, inter malleum sunt et incudem. Tu autem hoc refers ad Zabulum et draconem, qui istiusmodi semper in Scripturis pro varietate causarum nominibus insigniuntur.'

nunc discens *quia a Cain fratricida oriuntur malleatores*, projice malleum de manu tua. . . . Verumtamen finis confractio est atque contritio.[30]

Philo Judaeus, in *De posteritate Caini*, also interprets the figure of Tubalcain as a moral allegory of the soul harassed by its own desires:

> Accurately characterizing each one of these he [Moses] goes on to say: 'This man was a wielder of the hammer, a smith in brass and iron work' (Gen. iv. 22). For the soul that is vehemently concerned about bodily pleasures or the materials of outward things, is being ever hammered on an anvil, beaten out by the blows of his desires with their long swoop and reach.[31]

Origen's allegorical interpretation of the sons of Cain as *malleatores* and Philo's conception of Tubalcain as striking the blows of desire could conceivably have suggested to Spenser the propriety of symbolizing the six generations from Enoch to Tubalcain by six *malleatores*, each stronger than his predecessor. Such an allusion to the progeny of the first murderer[32] is by no means inappropriate in a description of the torments of jealousy.

The allusion to Brontes and Pyracmon and the description of the sixth *malleator* as 'like a monstrous Gyant' (a phrase which Upton regarded as an echo of Homer's description of Vulcan[33]) are especially apt if the sixth groom does indeed represent Tubalcain. Christian apologists sometimes identified the mythological Vulcan with the smith of

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 527. Italics mine.

[31] *Philo*, tr. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (London and New York, 1929), II, 393.

[32] Origen's homily may have suggested another detail in stanza 37. The massive hammer of the sixth servant 'seem'd a rocke of Diamond it could rive.' Though the diamond's strength was proverbial, it is significant that Origen develops at length (col. 526–527) the comparison between the saint tried by temptations and the adamant tested by hammer and anvil: '. . . quaero materiam malleo fortiorem, quae nihil ab eo percussa patiatur. . . . Refert autem de adamante historia, quia fortior sit omni caedenti se malleo, incontritus et inconvincibilis permanens. Licet supra stet malleus Zabulus, et suppositus sit draco, qui est quasi incus indomabilis, nihil tamen in many Dei, et in conspectu ejus consistens adamas perpetitur. Duo itaque contraria sunt adamanti isti malleus et incus improducibilis. . . . sanctus, qui quasi murus adamantinus, vel in manu Domini adamas est, non curet neque de malleo, neque de incude, sed quanto plus caesus fuerit, tanto plus ejus virtutem splendescere. Aiunt eos qui mercimoniam lapidum exercent, cum voluerint probare adamantem, ignorantes utrum sit adamas, annon sit, quandiu malleum et incudem non invenerint; tunc autem persuaderi esse verissimum adamantem, si indomitus lapis, si inter incudem et malleum perseverat, si percutiente desuper malleo, et incude supposita durior lapidum natura compingit. Talis vir est: ante tentationes ab his qui probare lapides nesciunt, ignoratur.'

[33] Upton, p. 592; cf. *Iliad*, XVIII, 410, *πέλωρ αἴητον*.

Genesis iv. 22,[34] and both of these figures vied with the Cyclopes for the credit of having invented the arts of metalwork.[35]

II

The master-smith, in turn, represents a fusion of several traditional elements. Though the idea of a 'house of *Care*' was familiar from Langland's 'castel of care'[36] and Virgil's reference to the lairs (*cubilia*) of Grief and Cares at the entrance to Hell,[37] neither of these passages appears to have influenced significantly Spenser's account of the smithy and its master. Many of Care's personal characteristics, on the other hand, reflect conventional conceptions of care or jealousy current both in classical literature and in Renaissance dictionaries.[38]

The word *care* (or *cura*) possessed several distinct meanings, and Spenser's portrait acquires much of its effectiveness from his exploitation of this ambiguity. In addition to the usual meaning (1) anxiety, grief, or solicitude, it could also denote, more specifically, (2) 'the care, pain, or anxiety of love' and (3) the art and labor of the craftsman.[39] Calepine gives all three senses:

Cura, [Cura, pensiero, travaglio. . . .] solicitudo, quòd cor edat, & excruciet. . . . Pro opere, quod adhibita cura fit. . . . Pro amore. [Amore] Virg.4. Aen. At regina gravi iandudum saucia cura.

In personifying Scudamour's jealous anxiety as Care and representing this figure symbolically as an artisan, Spenser combined all three meanings in a single allegorical person. This fusion was all the more apposite

[34] *P.L.* VI (Paris, 1844), col. 213n.

[35] Flavius Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, tr. William Whiston (London and New York, n.d.), p. 4; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* (*P.L.* LXXXII, Paris, 1850, col. 314, 318); Stephanus, *s.v. Cyclops*.

[36] See the B-text of *Piers Plowman*, Passus I, line 61.

[37] *Aeneid*, VI, 274.

[38] We need not, of course, infer that Spenser derived his conception of Care specifically from *this* source. Nevertheless the dictionaries provide a valuable compilation of classical references to *care*. Except where otherwise specified, all quotations from Cooper, Stephanus, or Calepine have been taken from their definitions of *cura*. The classical sources of these quotations are specified in the Renaissance dictionaries themselves, as well as in modern lexicons. For Spenser's relation to Renaissance dictionaries, see D. T. Starnes and E. W. Talbert, *Classical Myth and Learning in Renaissance Dictionaries* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1955), pp. 44–110.

[39] Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1933), *s.v. cura*; *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (Lipsiae, 1909), *s.v. cura*; *Totius latinitatis lexicon*, ed. Aegidius Forcellinus and Josephus Furlanettus (Prati, 1861), *s.v. cura*.

since Stephanus had defined jealousy as amorous solicitude and Italian idiom employed *martello* as a synonym for this concept.

In addition to elaborating the idea of care as labor as a vehicle for the concept of care as the lover's solicitude, Spenser invested his master-smith with attributes by no means unusual in Renaissance definitions and descriptions of *cura*.

1. Care is a 'blacke and griesly' figure. Cooper cites Horace's 'atrae curae', and Stephanus quotes the same poet's 'atras eximere curas'. Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays* mentions 'Care, looking grim and blacke'.[40] Ripa's 'Tribulazione' is dressed in black.[41]

2. Spenser conveys the idea of 'careworn' by emphasizing the wasted appearance of Care and his dwelling place. This

> wretched wearish elfe,
> With hollow eyes and rawbone cheekes forspent

lives 'where the mouldred earth had cav'd the banke', near a stagnant brook. Both Stephanus and Calepine derive the etymology of *cura* from the fact that it corrodes or consumes the heart:

> . . . solicitudo, quod cor edat, & excruciet. . . .[42] *Cura*. . . . Vehemens & anxia animi solicitudo, dicta (ut ait Festus) quòd cor edat, vel quòd urat.[43]

Cooper quotes Ovid's line 'Vitiatum corpus curis amaris', and Spenser himself refers to Scudamour's ordeal as 'hart-fretting payne'.[44]

3. Scudamour's jealous suspicion 'gauld, and griev'd him night and day', and Spenser's blacksmith 'neither day nor night from working spared'. Cooper and Stephanus list several examples of this conventional conception of care as the vigilant enemy of sleep:

> Vigilantes curae.
> Vigiles incumbunt curae.
> Vigili perspexerat omnia cura.
> Mens invigilat curis.
> Removens soporem cura.
> Pervigil. cura.[45]

[40] Burton Stevenson, *Stevenson's Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (London, 1949), p. 288.

[41] Ripa, p. 521.

[42] Calepine.

[43] Stephanus.

[44] Cf. *N.E.D.*, *s.v. care*, 'care-pined hearts'.

[45] Stephanus. Cf. *ibid.*, *s.v. vigil*: 'Curae vigiles', 'Dolores mei vigilant sine fine', 'Curis vigilantibus excita', etc.; Calepine, *s.v. vigil*, 'Et renuant vigiles corpus miserabile curae'.

Invigilat quieti cura. Stat.
Insomnes curae. Claud. Watchefulle care, keeping men from sleepe.
Somnos abrumpit cura. Virgil. Sorrow breaketh sleepe.[46]

Stephanus, Cooper, and Calepine all cite what is probably the classic instance of this concept, Virgil's description of the love-sick Dido, kept sleepless by the thought of Aeneas:

> At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
> volnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.
> . . . nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.[47]

4. Though Scudamour's jealousy vexes him night and day, he is especially vulnerable at night.[48] Significantly, it is at nightfall that he reaches the house of Care, and he departs at dawn. Stephanus refers to the same idea in Virgil's 'Recursat sub noctem cura' and Ovid's 'Nox curarum nutrix'.

5. Care's labor is devoted to making 'yron wedges' ('unquiet thoughts, that carefull minds invade'). Though in classical descriptions of Vulcan's forge the blacksmith is usually preoccupied with framing thunderbolts for Zeus or arms for some hero or god, Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* shows him making six arrowheads for Venus. Among these is jealousy:

> This arrow is feathered with the wings of Aegitus, which never sleepeth for feare of his hen: the heade toucht with the stone Perillus, which causeth mistruste and ielousie. Shoote this, Cupid, at men that have faire wives, which will make them rubbe the browes, when they swell in the braines.[49]

6. Care's incessant labors are merely 'to small purpose', and Scudamour seeks 'in vaine' their end and cause. This idea of the vanity or purposelessness of care is also conventional, and Cooper cites Lucretius' description of cares as 'empty' ('inanes').

7. The symbolism in stanza 44, where the 'maister Smith' nips the knight 'under his side' with 'redwhot yron tongs', closely resembles that of *Griefe* in the 'maske of Cupid':

> A paire of Pincers in his hand he had,
> With which he pinched people to the hart,
> That from thenceforth a wretched life they lad,

[46] Cooper, *Thesaurus* (1573).
[47] *Aeneid*, IV, 1–5.
[48] Cf. the expression 'Carebedd', *N.E.D.*, *s.v. care*.
[49] *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902), II, 410.

In wilfull languor and consuming smart,
Dying each day with inward wounds of dolours dart.[50]

The imagery in both passages is based on a conventional use of 'pinch' to signify the pressure of misfortune or distress,[51] and in both instances the poet has resorted to allegory to represent this 'pinch of grief or care'. An interesting analogue occurs in Cooper's *Thesaurus*: 'Remordet te cura. Virg. Care nippeth thee againe.' Stephanus quotes Virgil's 'Premere curam sub corde'.

8. Care's hands are blistered by the hot coals, and it is 'out of the burning cinders' that he snatches the tongs which break Scudamour's slumber. Spenser may have had in mind the comparison of jealousy to coals of fire in *The Song of Solomon* viii. 6, 'ielousie is cruel as the grave: the coles thereof are fyrie coles, & a vehement flame'.[52] That Scudamour's 'soundest sleepe' should be disturbed by 'his dayly feare' is also a conventional concept. Stephanus cites Cicero's 'Curae plurimae metusque ex somno nascuntur'.

9. It is also highly appropriate that Care's bellows should move *Pensifenesse*. Calepine defines *cura* as 'pensiero', and both Cooper and Elyot list 'thought' among its synonyms.

10. Both Spenser and Lyly stress the analogy between the blacksmith's bellows and the lover's sighs. In Spenser's allegory, however, they are identical, whereas in *Sapho and Phao* they are antithetical:

It is no lesse unwholsom for Venus, who is most honoured in Princes courtes, to soiourne with Vulcan in a smithes forge, where bellowes blow in steede of sighes, dark smokes rise for sweet perfumes, & for the panting of loving hearts, is only heard the beating of steeled hammers.[53]

11. In describing the smith's wakefulness, his begrimed and wasted appearance, and the incessant din of his hammers, Spenser may also have recalled a passage in *Ecclesiasticus*:

So is it of everie carpenter, and workemaster that laboreth night and daye: . . . The smithe in like maner abideth by his anvil, and doeth his diligence to labour the yron: the vapour of the fyre dryeth his flesh, and he muste fight with the heat of the fornace:

[50] Book III, xii, 16.
[51] *N.E.D.*, *s.v. pinch*.
[52] *The Bible* (Geneva, 1560). Cf. *N.E.D.*, *s.v. care*, 'carescorcht'.
[53] Bond, II, 373.

the noyce of the hammer is ever in his eares . . .: he setteth his minde to make up his workes: therefore he watcheth to polish it perfitely.[54]

12. To Care's assistants Spenser attributes immense strength and size and incessant labor. These too are conventional—but by no means distinctive—aspects of care:

Ingentes curae.
Maximae & gravissimae curae.
Ipse tibi tua maxima cura.
Exercere vires omni cura.
Fortior obstat curis ducis.
Urgentibus curis.
Urgeri moltis curis.
Exercere vitam curas.[55]

Each stronger than his predecessor, the 'sixe strong groomes' who 'by degrees . . . were disagreed' represent the increasing intensity of Scudamour's jealous anxiety. The 'monstrous Gyant' who strikes last and hardest symbolizes the highest pitch of his anguish, his 'maxima cura'.

III

Thus the central image of the episode—the figure of the smithy—was a singularly appropriate symbol for the torments of jealous wrath. In the first place, it served as a vehicle for both the conventional meaning of *martello* and the contemporary etymologies of *zelotypus*. In the second place, the forges of Vulcan and Tubalcain—the two most significant classical and Biblical parallels—lent themselves readily to the theme of jealousy. The blacksmith god had long been notorious as the mythological prototype of the jealous husband,[56] and the 'sons of Cain' inherited the stigma of their ancestor's murderous jealousy. According to Hebrew

[54] *The Bible* (Geneva, 1560), Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 27–28. The Authorized Version substitutes 'will waste his flesh' for 'dryeth his flesh'. The idea of wakefulness emerges more strongly in the Vulgate ('vigilia sua') and in the Authorized Version ('And he will be wakeful').

[55] Stephanus.

[56] Thus Desportes refers to 'le mari jaloux de la belle Cypris Qui forge a Jupiter le tonnerre et l'orage'. (See *Oeuvres de Philippes Desportes*, ed. Alfred Michiels, Paris, 1858, p. 73). Cf. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1845), p. 634, 'Abraham was jealous of his wife because she was fair: so was Vulcan of his Venus, when he made her creaking shoes, saith Philostratus, *ne moecharetur, sandalio scilicet deferente*, that he might hear by them when she stirred.'

and Christian tradition, Cain's crime was inspired not only by envy of Abel's sacrifice, but also by jealousy of the latter's beautiful wife, Leboda or Lubia.[57]

Thirdly, the image of the forge may have served to emphasize the groundless character of Scudamour's suspicions of Britomart and Amoret. Like Oberon's charges against Titania, these are mere 'forgeries of jealousy'.[58] As in the case of *martello*, Spenser's description of the smithy apparently exploits two conventional meanings of the verb *forge*: (1) 'to fabricate . . . (a false or imaginary story, lie, etc.)' and (2) 'to shape by heating in a forge and hammering'.[59]

Fourthly, forge and bellows had already appeared in medieval literature as symbols of wrath and envy. Dante's *Purgatorio* (XV, 51) had compared to bellows the sighs of the envious ('invidia move il mantaco ai sospiri'). In Chaucer's 'Persones Tale' (553–555) ire is described as 'the develes fourneys, that is eschaufed with the fyr of helle'.

> In this forseyde develes fourneys ther forgen three shrewes: Pryde, that ay bloweth and encreseth the fyr by chydinge and wikked wordes. | Thanne stant Envye, and *holdeth the hote iren upon the herte of man with a peire of longe tonges*[60] of long rancour. | And thanne stant the sinne of contumelie or stryf and cheeste, and batereth and forgeth by vileyns reprevinges.

IV

Spenser's personification of jealousy as Care may have been influenced by Benedetto Varchi's *Lezzione sopra la gelosia*, a commentary on Giovanni della Casa's sonnet on jealousy ('Cura, che di timor ti nutri, & cresci'). Of Casa's first line, Varchi observes that the poet expresses the concept of jealousy periphrastically, describing it not as *gelosia* but as *cura*:

> . . . favella il Poeta alla Gelosia, & artificiosamente non la chiama per lo suo dritto nome; ma la circonscrive, dicendo, *Cura, che di timor. . . .*.[61]

[57] See *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York and London, 1902), *s.v. Cain*; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin, 1932), *s.v. Kain*; *Testamentum patris nostri Adam*, ed. Michael Kmosko, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Pt. I, Vol. II (Paris, 1907), cols. 1313–1314, 1344, 1349.

[58] *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II, ii.

[59] *N.E.D.*, *s.v. Forgery*.

[60] Italics mine.

[61] *Due lezzioni di M. Benedetto Varchi* (Lione, 1560), p. 25. Varchi observes (pp. 25–26) that Ariosto employs a similar device in describing jealousy (*Orlando Furioso*, Canto 31, Stanza 1): 'Il che fece ancora l'Ariosto nella prima stanza; il quale innanzi, che le dicesse

In the same way, Baldassare Stampa had referred to jealousy as 'Cura, che sempre vigilante e desta'.[62]

In *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser suggests the increasing intensity of jealousy through the symbol of the 'sixe strong groomes', each stronger than his predecessor. In the *Lezzione* Varchi singles out Casa's *cresci* for particular emphasis:

> . . . he addeth besides, (*Cresci*, thou growest or increasest) which word no doubt is set downe by him, with great and excellent iudgement, by reason that IEALOUSIE may (as other like Qualities) encrease or diminish. . . .[63]

Spenser's description of jealousy stresses its nature, name, origin, development, and effects. All of these points had been singled out for emphasis in Varchi's commentary on Casa's sonnet:

> . . . what thing *Iealousie* is, whence it springeth, how it is nourished, and what a wicked and hurtfull plague it is. And this hee sheweth, by the Effects, and Accidents of the same. . . .
>
> Considering that in these first foure Verses hee defineth, or rather describeth what IEALOUSIE is; and there being two manner of Distinctions, the one, which declareth her name, the other, which sheweth her nature: pleaseth it you first to understand that this Greeke word Ζελοτιπια [*sic*], compounded of two words, (from whence *Gelosia*, that is IEALOUSIE, commeth in our language) signifieth no other thing, than a certain Emulation, or an Envy, of Forme, or Beautie. . . .[64]

Like Spenser, Varchi emphasizes the close relationship of jealousy to love, envy, and fear.[65] All of the 'disdainfull Disgraces, . . . burning

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il nome propio, la dinotò con cinque vocaboli peggior l'uno, che l'altro; che furono questi, sospetto, timore, martire, frenesia, & rabbia.' Varchi's lecture on Casa's sonnet was subsequently translated into English by Robert Tofte, as *The Blazon of Iealousie: a Subiect not written of by any heretofore* (London, 1615). In Varchi's opinion (Tofte, p. 7), no poet had discussed the subject of jealousy 'so much' or 'so learnedly' as Ariosto and Casa.

62 See Appendix II, 'Rime di Baldassare Stampa', in Gaspara Stampa's *Rime*, ed. Abdelkader Salza (Bari, 1913), p. 204. Tofte translates this poem in the notes to *The Blazon of Iealousie* (p. 23) 'because it is annext unto this Worke of *Benedetto Varchies*'.

63 Tofte, p. 22.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 11.

65 A detailed discussion of the relationship of jealousy to envy, fear, and love also appears in an appendix entitled 'Se la Gelosia può esser senza biasimo' (Varchi, pp. 71–104). Jealousy is identified as a species of envy (p. 83), but (p. 88) 'il genere vero, & propio, & prossimo della gelosia non è invidia, ma paura, o sospetto, o dolore.' Moreover (pp. 98, 100), 'l'amore dilettevole non può essere senza gelosia, & . . . dove non è gelosia, ò tanto ò quanto, non è amore. . . . Anzi dico più, che quanto sarà maggior l'amore, tanto sarà

Martyrings, . . . insupportable Punishments, and . . . unspeakable bloudy Passions in Love . . . are nothing . . . in respect of that one damned Plague, and deadly Poyson, cleped IEALOUSIE'. No true love can exist without jealousy.

Love (truly) we cannot, unlesse there be some spice of IEALOUSIE therein. . . . whereso-ever true Love is, there indeed some IEALOUSIE must necessarily be, and where no IEALOUSIE is, there of necessitie can be no true Love indeed. . . .

It is, moreover, a form of dread and a species of envy:

. . . IEALOUSIE is a certaine Feare or Doubt, least any one whom we would not, should enioy a Beautie that wee make account of. . . . Now there is no doubt but that IEAL-OUSIE is a Spice or Species of Envy. . . . wheresoever IEALOUSIE is the Precursor, there Envy must be the Follower alwayes. . . .

Accordingly, 'this our Poet hath done excellent well, to call and as it were define IEALOUSIE to be CARE, that is, a Thought or Passion which proceedeth and leadeth on Feare, which is as much to say, as if it came of Dread and Suspect. And by this phrase of speech hee giveth us to understand from whence it springeth. . . .'[66]

Like Spenser's episode, Casa's sonnet represents insomnia as an inseparable attribute of jealous Care:

> Ivi senza riposo, i giorni mena,
> Senza sonno le notti, ivi ti duoli
> Non men di dubbia che di certa pena.

In this part [explains Varchi] he goeth on, describing and setting downe the Nature and Life of such as be Iealous, under the description of IEALOUSIE herselfe, who (al-wayes) living as it were, in a continuall Hell, take no rest in the day; neither can they sleepe at all in the nights, but (ever) grieve and lament, taking on as well for that which is false, as for what they stand in doubt of to be true; imagining many times, and conceiting divers things that are altogether impossible, for this strange Maladie engendreth a continuall and a perpetuall discontentment and disquietnesse in the minde, so that hee is not able, nor hath any power to give over from vexing himselfe, standing (alwayes) watchfull. . . .[67]

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maggior la gelosia, & all' encontro. . . .' Cf. also 'Quistione Settima' of Varchi's *Lezzione d'Amore* ('Se Amore può essere senza gelosia'), in *Lezzioni di M. Benedetto Varchi* (Fiorenza, 1590), p. 375. See also Burton's discussion of jealousy, pp. 626–660.

[66] Tofte, pp. 5–6, 12, 22, 55.

[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

Unlike Spenser, however, Varchi makes no use of the percussion-metaphor inherent in contemporary etymologies of *zelotypia* or of the symbolism of the hammer and forge.

V

Scudamour suffers not only from the din of hammers and bellows, but also from the cries of various animals—dogs, the cock, and the owl. These are conventional nocturnal sounds, such as might annoy any victim of insomnia, and, unlike the seven blacksmiths and their forge, they can be taken literally, without an allegorical explanation. Nonetheless, inasmuch as all three of these creatures are noted for their vigilance, they obviously reinforce Spenser's symbolic description of care-ridden wakefulness. Lemmi has emphasized the fact that 'the cock is the bird into which Gallus was turned for unwittingly betraying the amours of Mars and Venus, the owl is that into which Ascalaphus was transformed for tattling on Proserpine, and the howling of dogs was associated with Hecate whom . . . Spenser might well have thought of as symbolical of misfortune and sorrow.'[68] None of these allusions, however, seems entirely relevant to Scudamour's situation. Gallus was punished specifically for falling asleep:

at Gallus fertur in somnum versus fuisse: quare nemine praesciente Sol rem conspexit superveniens, Vulcanoque indicavit.[69]

Similarly, the fact that Proserpina ate several pomegranate seeds ('tria grana mali punici, vel novem, ut alii maluerunt')[70] seems to have little bearing on the knight's unwilling vigil. Surely the simpler explanation is, in this instance, also the more appropriate—that Spenser selected these particular animals primarily for their well-known nocturnal vigilance.

The cock was, moreover, a fairly conventional symbol of jealous wakefulness. Ripa's *Gelosia* is represented 'con un gallo nel braccio sinistro':

Dipingesi la Gelosia col gallo in braccio perche quest' animale è gelosissimo, vigilante desto, & accorto.[71]

For approximately the same reason this fowl is also shown with *Sospitione*:

[68] Lemmi, pp. 271–272.
[69] *Natalis Comitis Mythologiae* (Francofurti, 1584), p. 154.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 250.
[71] Ripa, p. 194.

Il Gallo nel cimiero, dimostra la vigilanza de sospettosi, essendo il Gallo, come dice Appiano, animale egualmente vigilante, & sospettoso.[72]

The cock also appears in two descriptions of *Sollecitudine*. In one it signifies diligence,[73] in the other, solicitude:

Si dipinge il Gallo come animale sollecito, il quale all' hore sue determinate, si desta cantando, perche non lascia la sollecitudine finire li sonni intieri. . . .[74]

Vigilanza is portrayed

con un Gallo . . ., perche il gallo si desta nell' hore della notte, all' essercito del suo canto, nè tralascia mai di obedire alli occulti ammaestramenti della natura, cosi insegna à gl' huomini la vigilanza.[75]

The cock's characteristic jealousy and vigilance also make it an appropriate symbol for self-interest (*Interesse proprio*):

. . . perche l'interesse tiene altrui in gelosia del proprio commodo, & in continua vigilanza, così d'animo, come de' sensi se gli accompagna seco il gallo. . . .[76]

On the other hand, Ripa usually represents the owl simply as a nocturnal bird[77] ('uccello proprio della notte') or, more specifically, as a bird of ill omen.[78] Scorn, for instance, is depicted with an owl on his head:

Lo scorno . . . si dipinge col Gufo, ilquale è uccello di cattivo augurio, secondo l'opinione sciocca de Gentili, & notturno, perche fà impiegar gli animi facilmente a cattivi pensieri.[79]

It was, therefore, highly appropriate that the owl—a nocturnal bird inspiring 'cattivi pensieri'—and the cock—a conventional symbol of vigilance and jealousy—should contribute to Scudamour's torment.[80] Spenser's allusion to them is, however, perfectly intelligible on the literal level, without resort to allegory.

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[72] *Ibid.*, p. 495.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 488.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 487.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 533. The cock also represents solicitude and vigilance in Ripa's description of *Studio* (pp. 505–506), 'Il Gallo si pone da diversi per la sollecitudine, & per la vigilanza'.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 265.
[77] See the descriptions of *Buio*, *Carro della Notte*, and *Hora Nona*, *ibid.*, pp. 54, 67, 229.
[78] See *Genio Cattivo*, *ibid.*, p. 196.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 473.
[80] Though the dog's conventional vigilance hardly requires comment, Spenser's reference to 'the dogs' which 'did barke and howle' all night is particularly appropriate, in view of Petronius' description of care as *latrans*. See *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, *s.v. cura*.

The Meaning of Strawberries in Shakespeare

SHAKESPEAREAN details of rather minor intrinsic significance sometimes can be worth the most careful examination not only because they previously have been ignored or misinterpreted, but also because such study may serve to indicate neglected resources of the playwright's dramatic language and the methods of historical criticism requisite to master them. The concern of this article is to demonstrate that Shakespeare's references to the strawberry, appearing in quite different dramatic contexts in three plays widely spaced through his career, are examples of such details. Of course the most memorable of these references (and the one to which our main attention will be drawn) occurs in *Othello* (III.iii.433–435) where mention of the strawberry 'spots' on the fatal handkerchief helps to vivify Iago's climactic flourish of evidence in the temptation of the Moor.

> Tell me but this—
> Have you not sometimes seen a handkerchief
> Spotted with strawberries in your wive's hand?[1]

At the admission which quickly follows, Othello is utterly convinced of the truth of Iago's slander: 'Now do I see 'tis true' (444). Though indeed we have heard of the handkerchief's embroidered 'work' before now (III.iii.296), this is the first we learn of its specific and identifying design. What we must ask critically is whether Shakespeare's reservation of the strawberries for this decisive moment has any value beyond identification, a dramatic value in intensifying the episode's essential effect and meaning.

One sound reason for asking this question is that Shakespeare took the trouble to put strawberries on the precious 'napkin' in his play in-

[1] All quotations from Shakespeare's plays are from *The Complete Works*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (New York, 1936).

stead of simply retaining the 'alla moresca' embroidery of his source.[2] Initially, we might be content to suppose that the playwright departed from Cinthio in this detail merely to bring the dramatic situation closer to his audience. For the strawberry plant—its fruit, flowers, and leaves considered—is among the most frequently occurring of such objects represented in English domestic embroidery surviving from the period.[3] The very nature of the embroiderers' sources and output, however, itself urges us not to rest with this answer. The embroiderers of the time drew their designs, either at first or second hand, largely from illustrated books, such as emblem books and books of hours, where many of the motifs they culled were being used in a symbolic way.[4] And the resultant embroidery itself frequently manifests a marked interest in emblematic significances. 'Elizabethan decoration' (as Rosemary Freeman has remarked) 'was universally emblematic and wherever the needle could penetrate the tendency to personification and allegory finds expression.'[5]

Shakespeare's other two references to the strawberry provide further reason to suppose that this emblematic tendency was in fact operative in his conception of the otherwise elaborately symbolic 'handkerchief spotted with strawberries'. For in both cases it would appear that his meaning must depend or at least draw upon established figurative values of the plant. The simpler of these references occurs near the start of *Henry V* where the two bishops express their relief and astonishment at the near-miraculous reformation of the prodigal Prince Hal. When Canterbury wonders at the new king's skill and learning in divinity, statecraft, war, and policy 'Since his addiction was to courses vain, | His companies unletter'd, rude, and shallow, | His hours fill'd up with riots', Ely attempts to explain by a horticultural reference (1.i.60–62):

> The strawberry grows underneath the nettle,
> And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best
> Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality.

[2] Gio. Battista Giraldi Cintio, *De gli hecatommithi* (Nel Monte Regale, 1565), I, 578: '*il qual pannicello era lauorato alla moresca sottilissimamente*'.

[3] See A. F. Kendrick, *English Needlework* (London, 1933), p. 87; A. J. B. Wace, 'English Embroideries belonging to Sir John Carew Pole, Bart.', *The Twenty-First Volume of the Walpole Society* (Oxford, 1933), p. 55.

[4] See Preston Remington, *English Domestic Needlework of the XVI, XVII, and XVIII Centuries* (New York, 1945), p. 3.

[5] *English Emblem Books* (London, 1948), p. 94. For discussion, see J. L. Nevinson, 'English Domestic Embroidery Patterns of the 16th and 17th Centuries', *The Twenty-Eighth Volume of the Walpole Society* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 5–6.

Prothero has already pointed out that the strawberry, although a ground-creeping plant in habit of growth, was an exception to the belief of Elizabethan gardeners in the importance of a plant's neighbors in the determination of its qualities. Even though the strawberry was 'exposed to every sort of contamination, yet no evil companionship could taint its purity'.[6]

It is rather surprising, therefore, to find the strawberry associated with a quite different kind of character in the other passage in which Shakespeare refers to it. This is the curious incident, drawn by the dramatist from his historical source, of Richard, Duke of Gloucester's requesting some of the Bishop of Ely's strawberries just before he bares his withered arm before the council and manages the dispatching of Hastings (*Richard III* III.iv). More's account in the *Historie* places such unexplained and pointless emphasis on the 'messe of strawberries' that their presence in the episode only makes for mystery.[7] In a recent note, Professor J. Dover Wilson has quoted approvingly an explanation of Richard's demand for strawberries suggested by a physician, Dr. J. Swift Joly, who thinks the intriguer required them to establish the claim that he was being victimized by witchcraft. His idea is that the historical Richard 'was allergic to strawberries and knew that he could produce an urticarial rash by eating them'.[8] Professor Wilson believes 'Dr Joly . . . has discovered the point' of the historical episode which, being lost, has left the versions of both More and Shakespeare 'oddly pointless'. We may perhaps allow that this supposition can help to account for the obscurity of More. But we will suppose it serves to explain Shakespeare's version only if we also assume that the dramatist, under no obligation to use the episode, deliberately chose to carry over into his play without essential reinterpretation matter whose obscurity in his source must have been as apparent to him as it is to us. Hence Professor Wilson pictures for us a Shakespeare, not shaping the matter of his source into something new and comprehensible, but vainly trying to give some plausibility to an episode whose secret key he did not possess.

Shakespeare endeavours, not very successfully, to make it work by suggesting that Richard's request for the strawberries is an expression of the geniality he affects when

[6] *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916), I, 373.

[7] For the episode of the strawberries at 'the counseil in the Tower' see *More's Life of King Richard III*, ed. J. Rawson Lumby (Cambridge, 1883), pp. 45–48.

[8] J. Dover Wilson, 'A Note on "Richard III": the Bishop of Ely's Strawberries', *MLR* LII (1957), 563–564.

he first comes in. At least that appears to be the reason why after sending the bishop out to dispatch a messenger to Ely Place he brings him back to remind us of the strawberries just before the infatuated Hastings utters the tribute to Richard's sincerity of character which begins

> His grace looks cheerfully and smooth this morning;
> There's some conceit or other likes him well.

As a matter of fact, Professor Wilson's own critical observation points our way to recognition of Shakespearean intentions in the passage that have nothing to do with Richard's supposed allergies or Shakespeare's ignorance of them. The first reference to the strawberries in the passage could be merely an expression of Richard's affected geniality and his device to get Ely momentarily out of the way so he can tell Buckingham of Hastings' refusal to assent to his occupancy of the throne. But the second reference (III.iv.46–59) must be intended to be meaningful in its context, Hastings' commentary on Richard's character, unless Shakespeare deliberately has gone out of his way to produce an entry, line, and grouping which are otherwise dramatically inert.

Enter the *Bishop of Ely*.

Ely. Where is my lord the Duke of Gloucester? I have
sent for these strawberries.

Hast. His Grace looks cheerfully and smooth this morning;
There's some conceit or other likes him well
When that he bids good morrow with such spirit.
I think there's never a man in Christendom
Can lesser hide his love or hate than he,
For by his face straight shall you know his heart.

Der. What of his heart perceive you in his face
By any likelihood he show'd to-day?

Hast. Marry, that with no man here he is offended;
For were he, he had shown it in his looks.

Enter *Richard* and *Buckingham*.

Rich. I pray you all, tell me what they deserve
That do conspire my death with devilish plots.

Ely's entrance to remind us of the 'good strawberries' (32), just preceding Hastings' praise of Richard's lack of dissimulation, can only be meant, like the purposeful reëntry of the intriguing Richard and Buckingham immediately following, as an ironic commentary on that tribute.

If we were to consider the *Henry V* and *Richard III* references to the strawberry from an emblematic point of view we might guess that it could have been used as an emblem either of the good or uncorrupted man, or of the seemingly good man, the hypocrite. Actually, both of these senses had vigorous, and more complexly significative, traditions behind them. The passage in *Richard* depends on an idea of the strawberry which is classical in origin and which involves the hoary proverbial phrase 'There is a snake in the grass'.[9]

> Qui legitis flores et humi nascentia fraga,
> frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.

These lines from Vergil's *Eclogues* (III, 92–93) were often cited, as earlier by John of Salisbury in his counsel to Christian readers of pagan literature in the *Polycraticus* (Lib. VII, Cap. X), as a warning against moral or intellectual seduction hidden beneath literary seeming sweets. A device in this tradition appears in Claude Paradin's *Symbola heroica* which I reproduce here from the 1591 English version, *The Heroicall Devises* (fig. 1). The explication of the device in the translation of P. S. runs:

> In gathering of flowers, and strawberies that grow low vpon the ground, we must be verie carefull for the adder and snake that lieth lurking in the grasse, for looke whomsoeuer she stingeth, they hardly recouer after. So in reading of authors, and bookes, which carrie a faire shew to the eye, and yeelding small delight to the eare, we must be carefull that we runne not into absurd, and wrong iudgements, and opinions, & by that meanes make shipwracke of our soules.[10]

Other similar dangers were capable of being symbolized by the same device of the strawberry and snake. When Geffrey Whitney culled this device for his *A Choice of Emblemes*, he applied the proverbial idea of the 'faire shew to the eye' to the colored speech of flatterers and viperous hypocrites.

> Of flattringe speeche, with sugred wordes beware,
> Suspect the harte, whose face doth fawne, and smile.[11]

'For by his face straight shall you know his heart', says the infatuated

[9] For the Elizabethan proverbial use, see Morris P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), proverb S585.

[10] *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin . . .* Translated out of Latin into English by P. S. (London, 1591), p. 84.

[11] Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and other Devises* (Leyden, 1586), p. 24.

Hastings. Obviously, this sense of the strawberry is the one operative in the *Richard III* passage, and in fact the idea of the hypocrite also appears in other Shakespearean contexts where the proverb is referred to without mention of the strawberry.[12]

It was perhaps inevitable that the proverb should also be frequently applied to beautiful women. In this sense it often appears in Elizabethan writings, as for example in Lyly's *Euphues* in a discussion of the female disposition.[13] An important extension of this sense resulted in application of the proverb's basic thought to the seeming beauties of love it-

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Latet anguis in herba.

The adder lurketh priuilie in the graſſe.

F 2

1. 'Latet anguis in herba', device from *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin* (London, 1591), p. 83

[12] See *2 Henry VI* III.i.228, *Richard II* III.ii.19, *Romeo* III.ii.73. Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* (London, 1870), pp. 340–341, notes the use of the proverb in emblem literature and in Shakespeare, but makes no reference to its classical origins or its relevance to the meaning of strawberries in the plays.

[13] John Lyly, *The Complete Works*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 202.

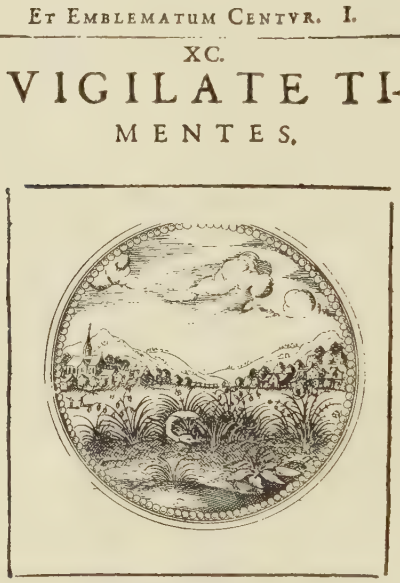
self: 'O loue, a plague, though grac'd with gallant glosse, | For in thy seates a snake is in the mosse'.[14] This point helps to account for the appearance of the strawberry in two indicative pieces of Elizabethan minor art in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London). The first is a linen panel embroidered in black silk from the end of the sixteenth century, entitled 'The Shepheard Buss'. The lover complains (in rebus emblems) that false Cupid has wounded him to death. Four appropriate devices from Paradin are in the corners of the inner square of the piece, and one of these is the 'Latet anguis in herba'.[15] The other piece (Acquisition No. 333A-1898) is a trencher of sycamore (*c.* 1590) whose inner circle is decorated with painted and gilt strawberries accompanied by scriptural quotations (Prov. v. 3; Ecclus. ix. 8; Prov. xxix. 3). These concern the dangers to a man's substance and life attendant on the seductive pleasures which the 'strange woman' offers. While the direct reference is to the perils of feminine beauty and illicit love, the actual perniciousness of the objects of concupiscent desire in general may be implied since the seductions of the scriptural *mala mulier* referred to were well known to pertain to all desires misguided from the love of God. In any event these references do suggest the final step in this tradition of the strawberry which is the generalization of its meaning so that it can represent any 'show of goodness', pleasurable to man's corrupt nature, which can spiritually damage him through unwary moral choice.[16] Joachim Camerarius' fairly compendious account of the strawberry and serpent emblem in his *Symbolorũ & emblematum . . . centuria vna*, first published in the last decade of the sixteenth century, illustrates the tendency to this inclusive meaning (fig. 2). The emblematist notes that the hidden poison of illicit loves is one significance of the symbol; but he emphasizes two more general interpretations. The similitude warns us, he says, against fair appearances which lead the mind into dangerous error, particularly 'dum persequamur in opiniones absurdas,

[14] Whitney, p. 219: 'In amore tormentum'.

[15] The other devices from Paradin are the flower and the sun ('Following no meane things', p. 46), the peacock feathers and the flies ('Take awaie the priekes [*sic*] of pleasnres [*sic*]', p. 288), and the dog jumping from the sinking ship ('A defence or safeguard in the dangerous waters', p. 252). For discussion, see Nevinson, 'English Domestic Embroidery Patterns', pp. 6–8; for reproduction of the panel, see his Plate III or Kendrick, Plate XII.

[16] For the conception of moral choice referred to, see Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, I.vii.3 ff.; in *The Works*, ed. John Keble, 7th ed. rev. R. Church and F. Paget (Oxford, 1888), I, 221 ff.; for discussion, see J. V. Cunningham, *Woe or Wonder* (Denver, 1951), p. 108.

pravas, & à vero nos longissimè abducentes'; but others, he admits, interpret the strawberries as riches which may tempt one to such proud and intemperate abuse of luxuries and pleasures as will prevent him from arriving at true virtue and enduring tranquillity of soul.[17]



2. 'Vigilate timentes', emblem from Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorũ & emblematum ex re herberaria desuntorum centuria vna collecta* (Francofurti, 1654), fol. 92[r]

[17] *Symbolorũ & emblematum ex re herberaria desuntorum centuria vna collecta* (Francofurti, 1654), fol. 91[v]. Wilhelm Fränger, *The Millennium of Hieronymus Bosch*, tr. Eithne Wilkins & Ernst Kaiser (Chicago, 1951), p. 116, finds that the strawberry appearing as a prominent symbol in Bosch's painting 'represents the essence of earthly voluptuous delight'.

In most of these treatments the strawberry is emblematic of an only apparent good whose real perniciousness is symbolized by the lurking adder. By another tradition, however, the strawberry represents a real good. This is reflected in the passage about Hal;[18] but it also is present to reinforce the effect of the dramatic symbolism of the scene in *Richard III*. Characteristically, Shakespeare brings the two traditions of symbolism together as he does again in these lines in *Macbeth* (I.v.66–67), where Lady Macbeth advises the hero to

> . . . look like the innocent flower,
> But be the serpent under't.

The strawberry, because its flower is white, its fruit red, its smell and taste sweet, and its foliage 'like the Trefoile',[19] was an excellent choice for the expression of the fruit of the spirit (Gal. v. 22–23). While it is nowhere mentioned in Scripture and depends for its appearance rather on the allegorical interpretation of the book of nature, it enjoys a very widespread popularity in religious illustration from the late fourteenth century to well past Shakespeare's time. 'Its meaning' (as Elizabeth Haig long ago pointed out) 'always appears to be the same; it is the symbol of perfect righteousness, or the emblem of the righteous man whose fruits are good works.'[20] It thus appears near the blessed or in the Eden of unfallen Adam and Eve in representations of the celestial or earthly paradise.[21] Examples are the depictions of these subjects in a

[18] An interpretation of the strawberry which bears some relation to the purport of the *Henry V* passage is found in Philip Picinelli's encyclopaedic *Mundus symbolicus* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1687), Lib. x, Cap. xviii, p. 622: 'E Locis infirmis ac sylvestribus nonnunquam animos prodire nobiles & generosos, fraga demonstrant, quae illustriminio obducta, & in alpium desertis nata, à Carolo Rancato epigraphen cepere; SYLVESTRI NATA SUB UMBRA. Verbis ex Ovidio [*Meta.* III] mutuatis . . .'. It is significant, in connection with the tradition of interpretation *in bono* discussed in my text below, that he should add: 'Talis omninò Epithalamii Divini sponsa erat, quae *ascendit de deserto, delitiis affluens*. Et rursùs, *sub arbore malo suscitavite* [Cant. viii. 5].'

[19] John Gerarde, *The Herball: a Generall Historie of Plantes* (London, 1597), p. 844.

[20] *The Floral Symbolism of the Great Masters* (New York and London, 1913), pp. 269–270. She remarks (p. 268) that 'the strawberry stands apart from all other symbolical fruits. It is found in Italian, Flemish and German art, and also in the English miniatures. . . . As a symbol it is not only widespread, but of comparatively early origin.'

[21] It is conceivable that Ovid's description of the Golden Age, in which the strawberry is mentioned among the fruits brought forth by nature without man's travail (*Meta.* I, 104), had some part in the development of this convention. In the moralized Ovid, where strawberries remain a typical Golden Age food, the world of the Golden Age is explicitly related to the Biblical Paradise; see *'Ovide moralisé,' Poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle*, ed. C. de Boer (Amsterdam, 1915), Livre I, ll. 492, 928–933. On the

Garden of Paradise by a Master of the Upper Rhine (around 1410) in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut (Frankfurt), and in Giovanni di Paolo's paintings of Paradise (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and the Expulsion from Paradise (collection of Mr. Robert Lehman; detail: fig. 3). It is also often used in representations of the other paradisial garden conventionally related to these two paradises in Biblical exegesis: the *Sponsa* as *hortus conclusus*.[22] In the Canticum the *Sponsus* sees the *Sponsa* as without 'spot' (Cant. iv. 7) and addresses her, in a passage endlessly echoed in Elizabethan poetry, as a garden enclosed filled with precious fruits.

> My sister my spouse is as a garden inclosed, as a spring shut vp, and a fountaine sealed vp. Thy plants are as an orchard of pomegranates with sweete fruites . . . (Genevan, 1602: Cant. iv. 12–13)

In Catholic commentary and continental and pre-Reformation art this garden often was directly identified with the Virgin Mary who, by a convention arising in the twelfth century, was taken by one mode of interpretation to personify the *Sponsa*.[23] Hence the strawberry is a symbol very frequently associated with the Virgin and is generally known to appear in many pictures of the mystical enclosed garden among the flowers used to express her virtues. In *Partheneia sacra*, a Catholic emblem book in English and one of the works which helped later in the

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Ovidian reference to the strawberries itself, Peter Lavinius has the following note in his commentary on the *Metamorphoses* (in *P. Ovidii Nasonis Poetae ingeniosissimi Metamorphoseos libri XV*, Venetiis, 1536, fol. 7v): 'Montana fraga: forsitan illud explicare uoluit quod Moses scripserat. Ecce dedi uobis omnem herbam afferentem semen super terram: & uniuersa ligna quae habent in semetipsis sementem generis sui: ut sint uobis in escam [Gen. i. 29].' The tradition of comparing the Golden Age and Eden is still in evidence in George Sandys' *Ovids Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd, and Represented in Figures* (London, 1640), p. 14.

[22] See Richard of St. Victor, *In Cant.*, *P.L.* CXCVI, cols. 490–491; the discussion in D. W. Robertson, Jr., 'The Doctrine of Charity in Mediaeval Literary Gardens: A Topical Approach Through Symbolism and Allegory', *Speculum* XXVI (1951), 31; and the note in the Genevan Bible (1602 Bible quoted) at Cant. v. 1: 'The garden signifieth the kingdome of Christ'.

[23] 'Omnia quae de Ecclesia dicta sunt, possunt etiam de ipsa Virgine, sponsa et matre sponsi, intelligi' (Honorius of Autun, 'Sigillum beatae Mariae', *P.L.* CLXXII, col. 494). There are continual references to the Virgin as the *sponsa* in the sermons of St. Bernard (*P.L.* CLXXXII–CLXXXV). For the tradition of interpretation whereby 'Maria est paradisus plantatus a Deo' see Bede, *P.L.* XCI, col. 1102; Rupert, *P.L.* CLXVIII, col. 896; *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet (Mulhouse, 1907), I, 228; and Martino Del'Rio, *In Canticum Canticorum Solomonis commentarius literalis, et catena mystica* (Paris, 1604), p. 1[5]4.

3. Giovanni di Paola, *The Expulsion from Paradise*: detail (collection of Mr. Robert Lehman, New York)

4. Martin Schongauer, *The Madonna of the Strawberries* (formerly in Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg)

5. Il Bronzino (Agnolo di Cosimo), *The Holy Family* (National Gallery, London)

6. Miniature illumination of the Virgin as the 'woman clothed with the sun' (Rev. xii. 1), with border of strawberries in apparent relief. From *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis, ad usum Romae* (written in Flanders about 1500), fol. 104^{v} (Garrett Collection MS. 57, Princeton University Library)

7. Embroidered binding of a copy (C. 65. k. 10) of *Christian Praiers* (London, 1570): crimson velvet, worked with metal threads mixed with colored silks, with guimp affixed spangles (British Museum, London)

seventeenth century to give 'wide currency to the symbols which had been associated with the Virgin Mary since the beginning of her cult',[24] we are told to 'Note there', in the symbolic garden which Mary as *Sponsa* is,

> the humilitie of the Violet, how like the strawberrie she keeps by the ground, hiding, what she can, here beautie in her leaues, But is discouered whether she wil or no; partly by the flashes of her luster . . . partly with the odour she can not choose but send forth.[25]

In the Madonna and Child by Schongauer (fig. 4), the Virgin is seated in a bed of strawberries, and to show that she herself is the garden, she wears strawberry leaves in her crown as the emblem of her righteousness. The same idea is represented by strawberries embroidered on the Virgin's cloak in Lorenzo d'Alessandro da Sanseverino's altarpiece: the Marriage of Saint Catherine of Siena (National Gallery, London).[26] More usually this plant appears among the flowers which spring in the earth as symbols of the church's faith and justice and of God's promise of the heavenly paradise. Typical examples are Schongauer's Birth of Jesus (Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar) and the Virgin and Child with Angels by a follower of Bernart Van Orley in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[27]

Of course the faith and justice of the church are assumed to be derived from Christ, the fruit of righteousness whom the Virgin brought forth. When the *Sponsa*-garden was identified with the Virgin Mary,

[24] Freeman, *English Emblem Books*, p. 181.

[25] H. A., *Partheneia Sacra* (Rouen, 1633), p. 10. Elizabeth Haig remarks that the strawberry is '. . . almost invariably accompanied by the violet, from which we may gather that the truly fruitful soul is always humble' (*Floral Symbolism*, p. 271).

[26] This painting is reproduced in the National Gallery's *Illustrations, Italian Schools* (London, 1937), p. 199, and in Haig, *Floral Symbolism*, frontispiece.

[27] See Cant. ii. 12, and for commentary, Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, *P.L.* CXI, col. 528: '*Flores in terra visi sunt* (Cant. II); quibus etiam regnum coelorum promissum est.' Also col. 529: '. . . *Flores apparuerunt in terra* (Cant. II), id est, in otio fidei et justitia floruerunt in mundo, crescente Ecclesia.' Cf. John Trapp, *A commentary . . . upon . . . Canticles*, p. 212, in *Solomonis ΠΑΝΑΡΕΤΟΣ: or, a Commentarie upon the Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs* (London, 1650): 'by *flowers* . . . are understood . . . the first fruits of the Spirit, whereby the Elect give a pleasant smell: and therein lyeth sweetnesse of speech and words going before workes, even as flowers before fruits.'

The motive is commonplace in painting; for its appearance in graphic art, see the engraving of the Madonna and Child in a garden with strawberries by Master E. S. in Max Geisberg, *Die Anfänge des deutschen Kupferstiches und der Meister E. S.* (Leipzig, n.d., Meister der Graphik, Band II).

the precious fruit of the *hortus* was related to the blessed 'fruit' of Mary's womb (Luke i. 42). Moreover, Christ himself conventionally was identified with the 'welbeloued' *Sponsus* who provided his garden with its fruitfulness in virtue.

> The Garden is Christs: the pretious graces of his Spirit, and all acts of grace, those pleasant fruits are all his. He alone is the true proprietary: for *of him, and through him, and to him are all things* [Rom. xi. 36].[28]

Hence in Bronzino's Holy Family (National Gallery, London) the Infant St. John holds up the strawberries to the Christ Child in emblematic tribute (fig. 5). Sometimes, as in Signorelli's earlier painting of the same subject (in the same collection), the Infant Jesus holds the strawberry in his hand, as he does also in a famous drawing by Dürer called the Madonna with a Multitude of Animals (Albertina, Vienna).[29] Naturally, the symbol is also found in related 'garden' subjects, such as the Agony in the Garden, where it appears growing at Christ's feet with the violet of humility; an example is the painting of this subject by Ambrogio Bergognone in the National Gallery, London. And inevitably, too, the symbol gradually was associated more and more with those who imitate Christ, those who, as faithful Christians, are Christ's spouses and bring forth his fruits. Tropologically, the garden-*Sponsa* was identified with the individual 'faithfull soule', and the fruit signified the state of grace, the possession of the image of God, or the 'fruite of the Spirit'. By grace faithful souls 'conceive Christ spiritually' and by bringing him forth in their actions, reveal themselves to be 'gardens' bearing the fruits of good works.[30] Thus in later books of hours and similar illumi-

[28] Trapp, *A commentary . . . upon . . . Canticles*, p. 266, commenting on '. . . let my welbeloued come to his garden, and eat his pleasant fruite' (Cant. iv. 16). See also Hosea xiv. 8, and the Genevan note at Cant. iv. 15: 'The Church confesseth that all her glorie, & beautie commeth of Christ'.

[29] For reproduction of these works, see the National Gallery's *Illustrations, Italian Schools*, p. 331, and Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, 1948), II, fig. 135. A 'domestication' of the Virgin and Child with strawberry motive, interesting for our purposes, occurs in a Holy Family by the Master of the Magdalene Legend in the Antwerp Museum. This is an interior scene, and a pillow embroidered with the strawberry is in evidence.

[30] See 'The Argument' preceding *An excellent Song which was Salomons* in Genevan 1602, and the discussion in Robertson, 'Mediaeval Literary Gardens', pp. 31–32. On the spiritual conception of Christ, see the marginal note and discussion in John Hooper, *Later Writings*, ed. Rev. Charles Nevinson (Cambridge, 1852, Parker Society), p. 28: 'We must conceive Christ spiritually, and so bring him forth in our mouths and actions as occasion shall serve.'

nated texts martyrs and saints are very often accompanied by this emblematic plant.

This tradition of the symbolic strawberry must have found its way to England in various ways, but in no way more obviously than through the influence of continental artists exercised by means of imported tapestries and illuminated *horae*.[31] The strawberry can be traced, still in significant usage (although a secularized, purely decorative employment of the motif unquestionably begins to appear around 1500),[32] through French and Flemish devotional books used in England, or made for English patrons, through the illuminations and borders in *horae* by English artists under foreign influence, through the printed *horae* (which took over much of the decorative scheme of the manuscripts), and down to the derivative *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, where it still occurs as a decorative border motif.[33] That it was yet capable of

[31] For examples of the motive in tapestries, see Heinrich Göbel, *Tapestries of the Lowlands*, tr. Robert West (New York, 1924), figs. 219, 370, 389, 393; in *horae*, see fig. 6, a miniature illumination of the Virgin as 'woman clothed with the sun' (Rev. xii. 1), with border of strawberries in apparent relief, from a *Horae ad usum Romae* written in Flanders, about 1500 (Princeton University Library, Garrett Collection MS. 57, fol. 104^{v}); *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*: An Exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art 1949 (Baltimore, 1949), Pl. LXXVIII; Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures: manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), Pls. 46, 47, 52, 54, 58, 59, 69, 72; in breviaries, see Leroquais, *Les bréviaires: manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1954), Pls. XC, XCII, XCIII, XCVI, CV. Good examples less conveniently viewed are *Horae* (British Museum Add. MS. 17280), fol. 130 (scenes from life of the Virgin); *Prayers* (British Museum Egerton MS. 2125), fol. 187 (Annunciation: rose, violet, and strawberry); *Horae* (Pierpont Morgan MS. M6), fol. 37 (Madonna of Humility).

[32] See for example the floral decoration of the miniature of the Dance of 'La Carolle' in the *Roman de la Rose* (British Museum Harley MS. 4425), done by the so-called Master of the Prayer Books whose painting of strawberries for the border of a Gerard David miniature of the nativity in *Horae* (Cambridge MS. Add. 4100) was quite clearly intended to be symbolically significant. A similar carry-over of the strawberry as a purely decorative motif in secular books by the artists who did prayer book illuminations can be seen in the *Motets* (British Museum Royal MS. 8.G.VII) made for Henry VIII *c.* 1519–33.

[33] See *New Testament* (Cambridge MS. Dd. VII.3.), made for John Colet, illuminated by a Flemish artist; see first fol. of Matt., 'Liber generationis IESÙ . . .' decorated with a border containing strawberries. See *Gospels* (Oxford MS. 223), made for Cardinal Wolsey in 1529, illuminated by a Flemish artist; see border of miniature of Last Supper.

For an English artist under Franco-Flemish influence, see the Sarum *Horae* (Pierpont Morgan MS. M93), borders with violets, strawberries, and periwinkles; for a more native product with such influence in the floral border, see the miniature illumination of Christ blessing in Pierpont Morgan MS. 487 (fol. 245^{v}), an English *horae* of about 1460.

On the printed *horae*, and the survival of this decorative motif, see Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France* (Paris, 1908), p. 273. The unique copy of the first liturgical book printed in England [*Horae Beatae Virginis Mariae*, ad usum Sarum (Westminster, *c.* 1477)], has the strawberry in its borders (fols. [1]^{r}, and [45]^{r}); these are done

being used as more than decoration is apparent from some of the surviving embroidery which also drew on this pictorial tradition. The combination of roses, grapes, and strawberries in the embroidered binding of a copy of Bull's *Christian Praiers* (1570) in the British Museum is no accident: it was meant to remind the reader of the 'fruits' his devotions could with grace bring forth in him (fig. 7).[34] Other instances of the strawberry in English embroidery for Bibles and other religious texts manifest its symbolic use in connection with faith, hope, and various Biblical personages who brought forth the fruit of righteousness; and they thus illustrate the continuity of this significance of the motif through Shakespeare's time and well into the seventeenth century.[35]

Shakespeare implicitly calls upon both traditions of the strawberry in investing with significance the embroidered design which he emphasizes in *Othello* by having Emilia plan to have the handkerchief's 'work ta'en out' (presumably to give a copy to Iago), and by having Cassio admire

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by hand but by a much less skilled artist than the one who did the initial letters, so that the flowers can not be asserted to have more than a crude decorative effect.

For the decorative border woodcut of the strawberry in *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (London, 1590), see fol. 79^{r}.

[34] Roses and strawberries often occur together, as in the splendid leaf with initial 'O' and miniature of the Pelican in her Piety from a choir book, Spanish, sixteenth century, preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Acquisition No. D. 287–1892. The grapes occur with the strawberry and the rose in the tapestry of The Infant Saviour Pressing Grapes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acquisition No. 14.40.709). This is reproduced in Göbel, *Tapestries*, fig. 133.

For a more stylized symbolic and decorative use of the strawberry in connection with an English religious book, see the reproduction of the embroidered binding of a copy of *Christian Prayers* (London, 1584), in Cyril Davenport, *English Embroidered Bookbindings* (London, 1899), Pl. 23.

[35] See Davenport, Pl. 10 (Hope: one panel of an embroidered binding of *N.T.*, 1625 bound with *Psalmes*, 1635), and Pl. 14 (*Bible*, 1648); J. L. Nevinson, *Catalogue of English Domestic Embroidery of the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1938), Pl. XXXa (Abraham and Hagar); Pl. XXXIV (Sacrifice of Isaac; Jonah and Whale, 1613). A sixteenth-century Greek Testament and Hebrew Bible in the Durham Cathedral Library (B.III.31) has an embroidered cover, with strawberries predominant, worked by the Lady Arabella Stuart, who was committed to the charge of the Bishop of Durham in 1611. An early seventeenth-century embroidered cover for a Bible cushion in the collection of Judge Irwin Untermeyer (New York City) may be of special interest. The strawberry plant, prominently displayed in the foreground, is here associated (as frequently earlier) with the story of the falsely accused, chaste Susanna. Moreover, a snake pictured at the bottom of the design, though it is separated from the strawberry, may indicate that the other tradition of the symbolic plant—applicable to the two hypocritical elders—might also have been intended. This piece is reproduced in Remington, *English Domestic Needlework*, fig. 42.

it enough to ask his 'sweet Bianca' to copy it (III.iii.296–297; iv.189–190). And these traditions insure a symbolic value for the strawberry 'spotting' appropriate to the present decisiveness of the handkerchief and the complexities of the dramatic situation in which it appears. That the handkerchief is 'spotted with strawberries' allows it to represent Othello's distorted image of Desdemona as perilously deceitful beauty, as the adulterous and hypocritical fair woman. 'Spotted' is an equivoke, as it is, somewhat differently, later in the play at v.i.36. The handkerchief is not merely decorated with embroidered spots; it is spotted as Desdemona in his eyes is now stained, blemished with the mark of the specious and traitorous show of goodness.[36] Yet the hero's *sponsa* only seems to be unchaste, only appears to have lost the fruit of righteousness. Actually, that purity and justice have been lost by the Moor himself. Thus the strawberries can stand for the shows of goodness by which he is being betrayed. They ironically suggest the perfect righteousness he deludedly presumes himself to possess; they symbolize the fair appearances which have led him into such 'absurd, and wrong iudgements, and opinions', as can make 'shipwracke' of his soul; they imply the unwise, intemperate, and finally inadequate love which has allowed his vision and virtue to be corrupted. It is not mere coincidence that, according to the Elizabethan marriage service, a husband was bound to imitate by profound love of his wife the divine mercy by which the loving *Sponsus* keeps his 'bride' without 'spot'.[37]

The strawberries in *Othello* serve as a symbolic crystallization of ironies inherent in the dramatic situation and already displayed in more direct and available ways. They represent an expendable minor enrichment of the dramatic texture, yet one illustrative of the creative abundance and intensity by which Shakespeare's sustained mastery over his materials in this play is partly manifested. While they are supportive of, rather than essential to, the central episode in which they appear, the

[36] See *O.E.D.*, s.v. *Spotted*: '1. Marked or decorated with spots. . . . b. Const. *with* (some colour, etc.). 2. Disfigured or stained with spots. . . . b. *fig.* Morally stained or blemished. c. Const. *with* (something disgraceful).'

[37] *The Book of Common Prayer* (1559), in *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Rev. William Keatinge Clay (Cambridge, 1847, Parker Society), p. 223 (based on Eph. v. 22 ff.): 'Ye husbands love your wives, even as Christ loved the church, and hath given himself for it, to sanctify it purging it in the fountain of water, through thy word, that he might make it unto himself a glorious congregation, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and blameless.'

coherent and precise intent with which they are used is typical of the deliberate detail of this play. It would be a mistake, moreover, to suppose the strawberries an isolated scrap of imagery. For, first, they belong with the fundamental confusions between appearance and reality at the center of the play's method and meaning. More specifically, they are connected, like Othello's reference to Desdemona as a fair 'weed' (IV.ii.67), to the conventional 'garden' imagery whose crucial locus is Iago's memorable discourse on man's body as a garden (I.iii.322 ff.). Finally, it is conceivable too that further research into the traditional imagery associated with Othello, Desdemona, and Iago may show that the profoundest meanings *in bono* of which the strawberry was yet capable would not have been inappropriate in this play. To what extent Shakespeare evoked these meanings is to be judged only when we have examined with sufficient care the possible context which a supporting symbolism, carried through the play, might have provided for it. But this must remain the subject of other and farther ranging study.[38]

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[38] I should like to acknowledge the following sources for the photographs: Fig. 1, the Folger Shakespeare Library; Figs. 2 and 6, the Princeton University Library; Fig. 3, Mr. Robert Lehman (photo: Bulloz); Fig. 4, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg (the painting was destroyed by fire in 1947); Fig. 5, the National Gallery, London; Fig. 7, the British Museum (photo: John R. Freeman & Co., London).

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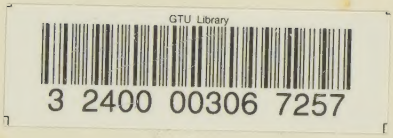
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